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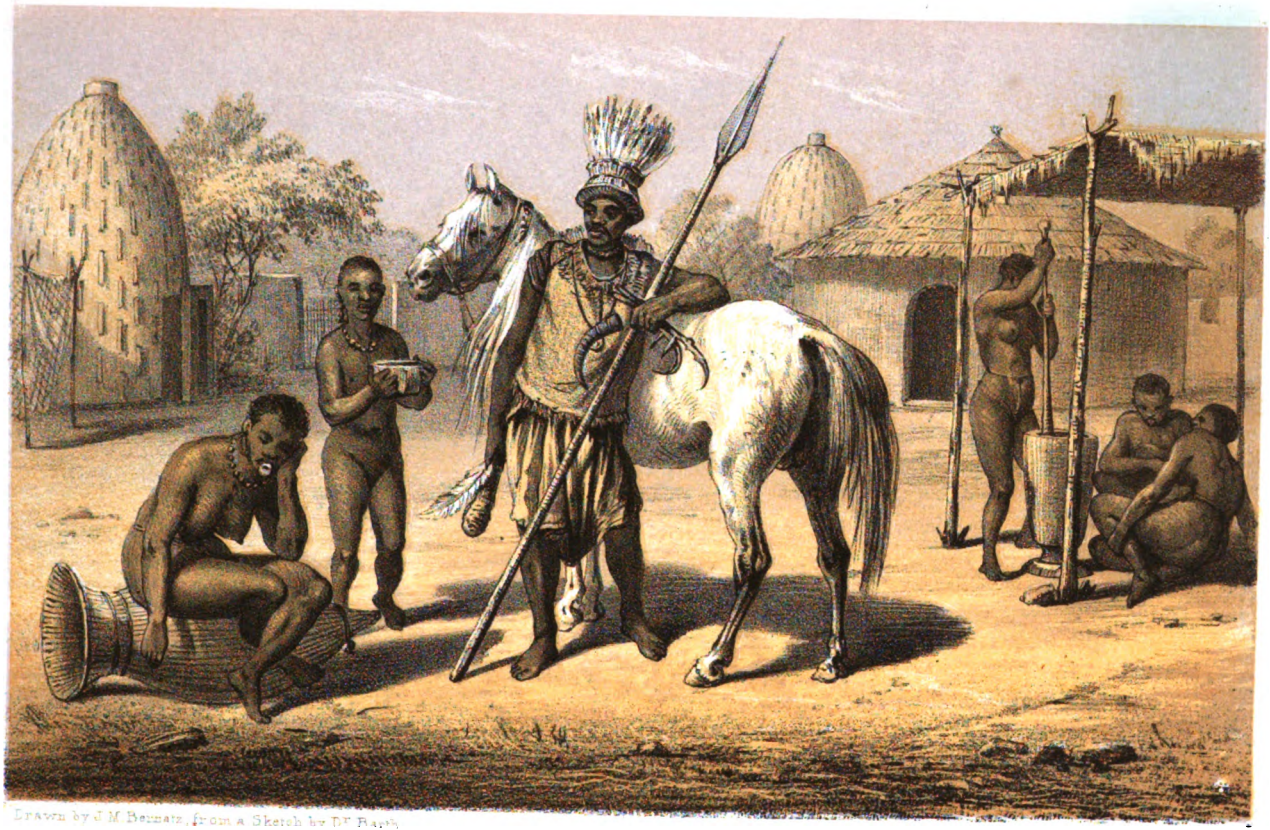

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MÚSGU CHIEF.

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TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

IN

NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA:

BEING A

JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION

UNDERTAKEN

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF H.B.M.'S GOVERNMENT,

IN THE YEARS

1849—1855.

BY

HENRY BARTH, PH.D., D.C.L.

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL AND ASIATIC SOCIETIES,

&c. &c.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

IN

AFRICA.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

RAINY SEASON IN KÚKAWA.

I HAD left Kúkawa on my journey to A'damáwa in the best state of health, but had brought back from that excursion the germs of disease; and residence in the town, at least at this period of the year, was not likely to improve my condition. It would certainly have been better for me, had I been able to retire to some more healthy spot; but trivial though urgent business obliged me to remain in Kúkawa.

It was necessary to sell the merchandize which had at length arrived, in order to keep the mission in some way or other afloat, by paying the most urgent debts and providing the necessary means for further exploration. There was merchandize to the value of one hundred pounds sterling; but, as I was obliged to sell the things at a reduced

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rate for ready money, the loss was considerable; for all business in these countries is transacted on two or three months' credit, and, after all, payment is made, not in ready money, but chiefly in slaves. It is no doubt very necessary for a traveller to be provided with those various articles which form the presents to be made to the chiefs, and which are in many districts required for bartering; but he ought not to depend upon their sale for the supply of his wants. Altogether it is difficult to carry on trade in conjunction with extensive geographical research, although a person setting quietly down in a place, and entering into close relations with the natives, might collect a great deal of interesting information, which would probably escape the notice of the roving traveller, whose purpose is rather to explore distant regions. Besides, I was obliged to make numerous presents to my friends, in order to keep them in good humour, and had very often not only to provide dresses for themselves and their wives, but even for their domestic retainers; so that, all things considered, the supply of one hundred pounds' worth of merchandize could not last very long.

I have remarked that, when I re-entered Kúkawa, the cultivation of the ground had not yet begun; indeed, the whole country was so parched, that it became even a matter of perplexity to find sufficient fodder for the horses; for the whole stock of dry herbage was consumed, and of young herbage none was to be had.

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It is stated in my memoranda, that on the 5th of August I paid twelve rotl for a "kéla kajímbe," or large bundle of dry grass; an enormous price in this country, and sufficient to maintain a whole family for several days; but that was the most unfavourable moment, for in a few days fresh herbage sprang up and made good all deficiencies. While speaking on this subject, I may also mention, that the herbage of Kúkawa, being full of "ngíbbi," or *Pennisetum distichum*, horses brought from other countries generally fare but badly on it, as they are reluctant to fill their mouths with its small prickles.

Rain was very plentiful this year, 1851, and I am sure would, if measured, have far exceeded the quantity found by Mr. Vogel in 1854. Indeed, there were twelve very considerable falls of rain during the month of August alone, which together probably exceeded thirty inches. It must be borne in mind, moreover, that the fall of rain in Kúkawa does not constitute the rule for the region, but is quite exceptional, owing to the entire absence of trees and of heights in the neighbourhood. Hence, the statement of Mr. Vogel in one of his letters*, that the line of tropical rains only begins south of Kúkawa, must be understood with some reserve; for if he had measured the rain in the woody country north of that capital, between Dáwerghú and Kalíluwá, he would, in my

* Published in Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc. vol. xxv., 1855, p. 241.

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opinion, have obtained a very different result. It is evident that all depends upon the meaning of the expression, tropical rain. If it imply a very copious fall of rain, Kúkawa certainly does not lie within the limit of tropical rain; but if we are to understand by it the regularly returning annual fall of rain, produced by the ascending currents of heated air, it certainly does.* There was a very heavy fall of rain on the night of the 3rd of August, which not only swamped our courtyard, but changed my room, which lay half a foot lower, and was protected only by a low threshold, into a little lake, aggravating my feverish state very considerably, and spoiling most of my things.

On the 5th of August rain fell for the first time unaccompanied by a storm, though the rainy season in general sets in with dreadful tornadoes. The watery element disturbed the luxurious existence of the "kanám galgálma," the large termites, which had fed on our sugar and other supplies, and on the 6th they all of a sudden disappeared from the ground, and filled the air as short-lived winged creatures, in which state they are called by the people "tsútsu," or "dsúdsu," and, when fried, are used as food. Their

* It will perhaps be as well to call to mind the prudent warning of Col. Sykes, in reference to the observations of Prof. Dove. "These observations," he says, "suggest to us the necessity of caution in generalizing from local facts with regard to temperatures and falls of rain."—*Report of the British Association*, 1852, p. 253.

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tenure of life is so precarious, and they seem to be so weak, that they become very troublesome, as they fall in every direction upon man and his food. Of each swarm of these insects only one couple seems destined to survive; all the rest die a violent death.

The town now began to present quite a different appearance; but while it was agreeable to see the dryness relieved, and succulent grass and fresh crops springing up all around, and supplanting the dull uniformity of the *Asclepias gigantea*, on the other hand, the extensive waterpools formed everywhere in the concavities of the ground, were by no means conducive to health, more especially as those places were depositories of all sorts of offal, and of putrefying carcasses of many kinds. The consequence was that my health, instead of improving, became worse, although I struggled hard, and as often as possible rode out on horseback. All the people were now busy in the labours of the field, although cultivation in the neighbourhood of the town is not of a uniform, but of a varied character; and a large portion of the ground, consisting of "ánge" and "fírki," is reserved for the culture of the masákuwá (*Holcus cernuus*), or wintercorn, with its variety the kérirám.

On the 8th of August the neighbourhood presented a very animated spectacle, the crownlands in Gawánge being then cultivated by a great number of people, working to the sound of a drum. Their labours continued till the 15th; on which day Mr.

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Overweg had the honour of presenting his Búdduma friends to the sheikh of Bórnu. All nature was now cheerful; the trees were putting forth fresh leaves, and the young birds began to fledge. I took great delight in observing the little household of a family of the feathered tribe; there were five young ones, the oldest and most daring of which began to try his strength on the 12th of August, while the other four set out together on the 14th.

Marriages are not frequent about this time, on account of the dearness of corn; but matches are generally made after the harvest has been got in, and while corn is cheap. I shall speak in another place of the marriage ceremonies of this country.

On the 5th of September we obtained the first specimen of new "argúm móro," white Negro millet, which is very pleasant to the taste when roasted on the fire; but this is regarded as a rarity, and new corn is not brought into the market in any great quantities before the end of November, or rather the beginning of December, when all the corn, which has been for a long time lying in the fields in conical heaps, called "búgga," is threshed out.

My friend, the vizier, whose solicitude for my health I cannot acknowledge too warmly, was very anxious that I should not stay in the town during the rainy season; and knowing that one of our principal objects was to investigate the eastern shore of lake Tsád, sent me word, on the 11th of August, that I might now view the bahár el ghazál, an undertaking which,

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as I have already mentioned, he had at first represented as impossible. The news from Kánem, however, was now favourable; but as I shall speak in another place of the political state of this distracted country, and of the continual struggle between Bórnu and Wadáÿ, I need only mention here that the Welád Slimán, who had become a mercenary band attached to the vizier, had been successful during their last expedition, and were reported on the very day of my return from A'damáwa to have made a prize of 150 horses and a great many camels, which, however, was a great exaggeration.

We were well acquainted with the character of these people, who are certainly the most lawless robbers in the world; but as it was the express wish of the British government that we should endeavour to explore the regions bordering on the lake, there was no course open to us, but to unite our pursuits with theirs; besides, they were prepared in some measure for such a union, for, while they inhabited the grassy lands round the great Syrtis, they had come into frequent contact with the English. We had no choice, for all the districts to the north-east and east of the Tsád were at present in a certain degree dependent on Wadáÿ, then at war with Bórnu, and we were told at the commencement that we might go anywhere except to Wadáÿ. Instead of fighting it out with his own people, which certainly would have been the most honourable course, the vizier had ventured to make use of the remnant of

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the warlike, and at present homeless, tribe of the Welád Slimán, in the attempt to recover the eastern districts of Kánem from his eastern rival; or at least to prevent the latter from obtaining a sure footing in them; for this object he had made a sort of treaty with these Arabs, undertaking to supply them with horses, muskets, powder and shot. Thus, in order to visit those inhospitable regions, which had attracted a great deal of attention in Europe, we were obliged to embrace this opportunity. Under these circumstances, on the 16th of August, I sent the vizier word that I was ready to join the Welád Slimán in Búrgu; whereupon he expressed a wish that Mr. Overweg might likewise accompany us; the stay in Kúkawa during the rainy season being very unhealthy.

Mr. Overweg had returned on the 9th to Maduwári from his interesting voyage on the Tsád, of which everyone will deeply regret that he himself was not able to give a full account.* Traversing that shallow basin in the English boat, which we had carried all the way through the unbounded sandy wastes and the rocky wildernesses of the desert, he had visited a great part of the islands, which are dispersed over its surface, and which, sometimes reduced to narrow sandy downs, at others expanding to wide grassy lowlands, sustain a population in their peculiar national independence, the remnant of a great nation which was exterminated by the Kanúri. It was a

* I shall return to the subject of Mr. Overweg's voyage.

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little world of its own with which he had thus come into contact, and into which we might hope to obtain by degrees a better insight. He enjoyed excellent health, far better than when I saw him before, on his first rejoining me in Kúkawa; and as he was well aware of the strong reasons which our friend the vizier had for wishing us not to stay in the swampy lowlands round the capital during the latter part of the rainy season, he agreed to join me on this adventurous expedition to the north-east.

Those regions had, from the very beginning of our setting out from Múrzuk, attracted Mr. Overweg's attention, and while as yet unacquainted with the immense difficulties that attend travelling in these inhospitable tracts, he had indulged in the hope of being able, at some future time, to ramble about with our young Tébu lad, Mohammed el Gatróni, among the fertile and picturesque valleys of Búrgu and Wajánga. For this reason, as well as on account of my debility, which left me, during the following expedition, the exercise of only a small degree of my natural energy, it is greatly to be regretted that my unfortunate companion, who seemed never fully aware that his life was at stake, did not take into consideration the circumstance that he himself might not be destined to return home, in order to elaborate his researches. If all the information which he occasionally collected were joined to mine, those countries would be far better known than they now are; but instead of employing his

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leisure hours in transcribing his memoranda in a form intelligible to others, he left them all on small scraps of paper, negligently written with lead pencil, which, after the lapse of some time, would become unintelligible even to himself. It is a pity that so much talent as my companion possessed was not allied with practical habits, and concentrated upon those subjects which he professed to study.

The political horizon of Negroland during this time was filled with memorable events, partly of real, partly of fictitious importance. Whatever advantages Bórnu may derive from its central position, it owes to it also the risk of being involved in perpetual struggles with one or other of the surrounding countries. And hence it is that, under a weak government, this empire cannot stand for any length of time; it must go on conquering and extending its dominion over adjacent territories, or it will soon be overpowered. Towards the north is the empire of the Turks, weak and crumbling in its centre, but always grasping with its outlying members, and threatening to lay hold of what is around: towards the north-west, the Tawárek, not forming a very formidable united power, but always ready to pounce upon their prey whenever opportunity offers: towards the west, the empire of Sókoto, great in extent, but weak beyond description in the unsettled state of its loosely connected provinces, and from the unenergetic government of a peacefully disposed prince; for while one provincial governor was just then spreading around

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him the flames of sedition and revolt, towards the south another vassal of this same empire was disputing the possession of those regions whence the supply of slaves is annually obtained: and towards the east, there is an empire strong in its barbarism, and containing the germs of power, should it succeed in perfectly uniting those heterogeneous elements of which it is composed—I mean Wadáÿ.

With regard to the Turks, the state of affairs at this time was peculiar. Bórnu, as we have seen in the historical account of that empire, once embraced the whole region as far as Fezzán, — nay, even the southern portion of Fezzán itself, and even Wadán; but since the decline of the empire in the latter half of the last century these limits had been abandoned, and the communication with the north had, in general, become extremely unsafe. This state of things is necessarily disadvantageous to a country which depends for many things on the supplies conveyed from the north; and the authorities naturally wish that, since they themselves, in their present impotent condition, are unable to afford security to this important communication, somebody else may do it. Hence it was that, after my arrival in April, when the vizier was conversing with me about the prospects of a regular commercial intercourse with the English, he declared that he should be much pleased if the Turks would occupy Kawár, and more particularly Bílma; and by building a fort and keeping a garrison near the salt-mines of that place,

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exercise some control over the Tawárek of Aïr, and make them responsible for robberies committed on the Fezzán road. It was in consequence of this communication that I begged Her Majesty's government to enter into communication upon this point with the Porte.

But the matter was of a very delicate nature with regard to Bórnu. Indeed, it seemed questionable whether the Turks, if once firmly established in Bílma, would not think fit to exercise some control over the latter country. Nay, it was rather to be feared that they might try to obtain there a firm footing, in order to extend their empire; and when the news arrived in Bórnu that the ambitious Hassan Bashá had returned to his post as governor of Fezzán, with very ample instructions, the whole court of Bórnu became alarmed. The effect of this news upon the disposition of the sheikh and the vizier to enter into friendly relations with the British government was remarkable. On the 5th of August they were not able to conceal their fear lest a numberless host of Englishmen might come into their country, if, by signing the treaty, access was once allowed them, as proposed by Her Majesty's government. For although they were conscious of the poverty of their country in comparison with Europe, at times they were apt to forget it. In the afternoon of the 6th the courier arrived, and the same evening Háj Beshír sent me word that they were ready to sign the treaty; and afterwards they were very anxious that the English

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government should endeavour to prevent the governor of Fezzán from carrying out the ulterior objects of his ambition. At that time I had assured myself that a northern road through the desert was not suitable for European commerce, and that a practicable highroad, leading several hundred miles into the interior of the continent and passing to the south of Kanó, the great commercial *entrepôt* of Central Africa, and only about two hundred miles in a straight line to the south of Kúkawa, had been found in the river Bénuwé.

With regard to the empire of Sókoto, there happened at this time a catastrophe which, while it was an unmistakeable proof of the debility of that vast agglomeration of provinces, proved at the same time extremely favourable to Bórnu. For on the 1st of August the news arrived that Bowári or Bokhári, the exiled governor of Khadéja, who had conquered the town and killed his brother, had thrown back, with great loss, an immense army sent against him by 'Alíyu, the emperor of Sókoto, under the command of his prime minister, 'Abdu Gedádo, and composed of the forces of the provinces of Kanó, Báuchi, Katágum, Mármar, and Bobéru, when several hundreds were said to have perished in the komádugu, or the great fiumara of Bórnu. In the spring, while Mr. Overweg was staying in Góber, the Mariadáwa and Goberáwa had made a very successful expedition into Zánfara; and the emperor of Sókoto could take no other revenge upon them, than by sending orders to Kanó that my friends the Asbenáwa, many of whose brethren had taken part

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in the expedition, should be driven out of the town, which order was obeyed while only the well-known Kandáke, the same man whom Mr. Richardson, on his former journey into the desert, has so frequently mentioned, was admitted into the town through the intercession of the people of Ghadámes.

The immediate consequence of these circumstances was, that the court of Bórnu tried to enter into more friendly relations with the Asbenáwa, or the Tawárek of Asben, with whom at other times they were on unfriendly terms, and the prisoners whom they had made on the last expedition were released. The coalition extended as far as Góber; and the most ardent desire of the vizier was to march straight upon Kanó. To conquer this great central place of commerce was the great object of this man's ambition; but for which he did not possess sufficient energy and self-command. However, the governor of that place, terrified by the victory of Bokhári, who was now enabled to carry on his predatory expeditions into that rich territory without hindrance, distributed sixty bernúses and three thousand dollars among the Mallemín, to induce them to offer up their prayers to Allah for the public welfare.

We have seen above, that the Bórnu people had given to their relations with A'damáwa a hostile character; but from that quarter they had nothing to fear, the governor of that province being too much occupied by the affairs of his own country.

I will now say a word about Wadáÿ. That was the

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quarter to which the most anxious looks of the Bórnu people were directed. For, seven years previously, they had been very nearly conquered by them, and had employed every means to get information of what was going on there. But from thence also the news was favourable. For although the report of the death of the Sultan Mohammed Sherif, in course of time, turned out to be false, still it was true that the country was plunged into a bloody civil war with the Abú-Senún, or Kodoyí, and that numbers of enterprising men had succumbed in the struggle.

The business of the town went on as usual, with the exception of the 'aid el fotr, the ngúmerí ashám, the festival following the great annual fast, which was celebrated in a grand style, not by the nation, which seemed to take very little interest in it, but by the court. In other places, like Kanó, the rejoicings seem to be more popular on this occasion; the children of the butchers or "masufauchi" in that great emporium of commerce mounting some oxen, fattened for the occasion, between the horns, and managing them by a rope fastened to the neck, and another to the hind leg. As for the common people of Bórnu, they scarcely took any other part in this festivity than by putting on their best dresses; and it is a general custom in larger establishments that servants and attendants on this day receive a new shirt.

I also put on my best dress, and mounting my horse, which had recovered a little from the fatigue of

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the last journey, though it was not yet fit for another, proceeded in the morning to the eastern town or "billa gedíbe," the great thoroughfare being crowded with men on foot and horseback, passing to and fro, all dressed in their best. It had been reported that the sheikh was to say his prayers in the mosque, but we soon discovered that he was to pray outside the town, as large troops of horsemen were leaving it through the north gate or "chinna yalábe." In order to become aware of the place where the ceremony was going on, I rode to the vizier's house and met him just as he came out, mounted on horseback, and accompanied by a troop of horsemen.

At the same time several cavalcades were seen coming from various quarters, consisting of the kashéllas, or officers, each with his squadron, of from a hundred to two hundred horsemen, all in the most gorgeous attire, particularly the heavy cavalry; the greater part being dressed in a thick stuffed coat called "degíbbir," and wearing over it several tobes of all sorts of colours and designs, and having their heads covered with the "búge" or casque, made very nearly like those of our knights in the middle age, but of lighter metal, and ornamented with most gaudy feathers. Their horses were covered all over with the thick clothing called "líbbedí," with various coloured stripes, consisting of three pieces, and leaving nothing but the feet exposed, the front of the head being protected and adorned by a metal plate. Others were dressed in a coat of mail, "síllege," and the other kind

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called "komá-komí-súbe." The lighter cavalry was only dressed in two or three showy tobes and small white or coloured caps; but the officers and more favoured attendants wore bernúses of finer or coarser quality, and generally of red or yellow colour, slung in a picturesque manner round the upper part of their body, so that the inner wadding of richly coloured silk was most exposed to view.*

All these dazzling cavalcades, amongst whom some very excellent horses were seen prancing along, were moving towards the northern gate of the "bílla gedíbe," while the troop of the sheikh himself, who had been staying in the western town, was coming from S.W. The sight of this troop, at least from a little distance, as is the case in theatrical scenery, was really magnificent. The troop was led by a number of horsemen; then followed the livery slaves with their matchlocks; and behind them rode the sheikh, dressed as usual in a white bernús, as a token of his religious character, but wearing round his head a red shawl. He was followed by four magnificent chargers clothed in líbbedí of silk of various colours, that of the first horse being striped white and yellow, that of the second white and brown, that of the third white and light green, and that of the fourth white and cherry red. This was certainly the most interesting and conspicuous part of the procession. Behind the horses followed the

* I shall say more on the military department in my narrative of the expedition to Músgu.

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four large àlam or ensigns of the sheikh, and the four smaller ones of the musketeers, and then a numerous body of horsemen.

This cavalcade of the sheikh's now joined the other troops, and the whole body proceeded in the direction of Dawerghú to a distance of about a mile from the town. Here the sheikh's tent was pitched, consisting of a very large cupola of considerable dimensions, with blue and white stripes, and curtains, the one half white and the other red; the curtains were only half closed. In this tent the sheikh himself, the vizier, and the first courtiers were praying, while the numerous body of horsemen and men on foot were grouped around in the most picturesque and imposing variety.

Meanwhile I made the round of this interesting scene, and endeavoured to count the various groups. In their numbers I was certainly disappointed, as I had been led to expect myriads. At the very least, however, there were 3000 horsemen, and from 6000 to 7000 armed men on foot, the latter partly with bow and arrow. There were besides a great multitude of spectators. The ceremony did not last long; and as early as nine o'clock the ganga summoned all the chiefs to mount, and the dense mass of human beings began to disperse and range themselves in various groups. They took their direction round the north-western corner of the east town, and entered the latter by the western gate; but the crowd was so great that I chose to forego taking leave of the sheikh, and went slowly back over the

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intermediate ground between the two towns in the company of some very chevaleresque and well-mounted young Arabs from Ben-Gházi, and posted myself at some distance from the east gate of the western town, in order to see the kashéllas, who have their residence in this quarter, pass by.

There were twelve or thirteen, few of whom had more than one hundred horsemen, the most conspicuous being Fúgo 'Alí, 'Alí Marghí, 'Alí Déndal, 'Alí Ladán, Belál, Sálah, Kandíl, and Jerma. It was thought remarkable that no Shúwa had come to this festivity; but I think they rarely do, although they may sometimes come for the 'Aíd-el-kebír, or the "ngúmerí layábe." It is rather remarkable that even this smaller festivity is celebrated here with such *éclat*, while in general, in Mohammedan Negroland, only the "láya" is celebrated in this way; perhaps this is due to Egyptian influence, and the custom is as old at least as the time of the king Edrís Alawóma.

I had the inexpressible delight of receiving by the courier, who arrived on the 6th of August, a considerable parcel of letters from Europe, which assured me as well of the great interest which was generally felt in our undertaking, although as yet only very little of our first proceedings had become known, as that we should be enabled to carry out our enterprise without too many privations. I therefore collected all the little energy which my sickly state had left me, and concluded the report of my journey to A'damáwa, which caused me a great deal of pain,

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but which, forwarded on the 8th of August, together with the news of Mr. Overweg's successful navigation, produced a great deal of satisfaction in Europe. Together with the letters and sundry Maltese portfolios, I had also the pleasure of receiving several numbers of the "Athenæum," probably the first which were introduced into Central Africa, and which gave me great delight.

Altogether our situation in the country was not so bad. We were on the best and most friendly terms with the rulers; we were not only tolerated, but even respected by the natives, and we saw an immense field of interesting and useful labour open to us. There was only one disagreeable circumstance besides the peculiar nature of the climate; this was the fact that our means were too small to render us quite independent of the sheikh and his vizier, for the scanty supplies which had reached us were not sufficient to provide for our wants, and were soon gone. We were scarcely able to keep ourselves afloat on our credit, and to supply our most necessary wants. Mr. Overweg, besides receiving a very handsome horse from them, had also been obliged to accept at their hands a number of tobes, which he had made presents of to the chiefs of the Búdduma, and they looked upon him as almost in their employment. He lost a great deal of his time in repairing, or rather trying to repair, their watches and other things. Such services I had declined from the beginning, and was therefore regarded as less useful;

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and I had occasionally to hear it said, "'Abd el Kerím faidanse bágo,"—"'Abd el Kerím is of no use whatever;" nevertheless, I myself was not quite independent of their kindness, although I sacrificed all I could in order to give from time to time a new impulse to their favour by an occasional present.

The horse which they had first given me had proved incapable of such fatigue as it had to undergo, and the animal which I had bought before going to A'damáwa had been too much knocked up to stand another journey so soon; and after having bought two other camels and prepared myself for another expedition, I was unable, with my present means, to buy a good horse. Remembering, therefore, what the vizier had told me with regard to my first horse, I sent him word that he would greatly oblige me by making me a present of one, and he was kind enough to send me four animals from which to choose; but as none of these satisfied me, I rejected them all, intimating very simply that it was impossible, among four *nags*, "kádara," to choose one *horse*, "fir." This hint, after a little further explanation, my friend did not fail to understand, and in the evening of the 7th of September he sent me a horse from his own stable, which became my faithful and noble companion for the next four campaigns, and from which I did not part till, after my return from Timbúktu, in December, 1854, he succumbed to sickness in Kanó.

He was the envy of all the great men, from the

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sultan of Bagírmi to the chiefs of the Tademékket and Awelímmiden, near Timbúktu. His colour was a shade of grey, with beautiful light leopardlike spots; and the Kanúri were not unanimous with regard to the name which they gave it, some calling it "shéggará," while others thought the name "kerí sassarándi" more suitable to it. In the company of mares, he was incapable of walking quietly, but kept playing in order to show himself off to advantage. The Bórnu horses in general are very spirited and fond of prancing. He was an excellent "kerísa" or marcher, and "doy" or swift in the extreme, but very often lost his start by his playfulness. Of his strength, the extent of the journeys which he made with me bears ample testimony, particularly if the warlike, scientific, and victualling stores which I used to carry with me are taken into account. He was a "ngírma," but not of the largest size. Mr. Overweg's horse was almost half a hand higher; but, while mine was a lion in agility, my companion's horse was not unlike a hippopotamus in plumpness.

With such a horse, I prepared cheerfully for my next expedition, which I regarded in the light both of an undertaking in the interests of science, and as a medicinal course for restoring my health, which threatened to succumb in the unhealthy region of Kúkawa. Besides two Fezzáni lads, I had taken into my service two Arabs belonging to the tribe of the Welád Slimán, and whose names were Bú-Zéd and Hasén ben Hár.

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CHAP. XXXIX.

EXPEDITION TO KÁNEM.

HAVING decided upon leaving the town in advance of the Arabs, in order to obtain leisure for travelling slowly the first few days, and to accustom my feeble frame once more to the fatigues of a continual march, after a rest of forty days in the town, I ordered my people to get my luggage ready in the morning. September 11th, 1851.

I had plenty of provisions, such as zummíta, dwéda or vermicelli, mohámsa, and nákia, a sort of sweetmeat made of rice with butter and honey; two skins of each quality. All was stowed away with the little luggage I intended taking with me on this adventurous journey, in two pairs of large leathern bags or kéwa, which my two camels were to carry.

When all was ready, I went to the vizier, in order to take leave of him and arrange with my former servant, Mohammed ben Sad, to whom I owed thirty-five dollars. Háj Beshír, as usual, was very kind and amiable; but as for my former servant, having not a single dollar in cash, I was obliged to give him a bill upon Fezzán for seventy-five dollars.

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There was also a long talk on the subject of the enormous debt due to the Fezzáni merchant Mohammed e' Sfáksi; and as it was not possible to settle it at once, I was obliged to leave its definite arrangement to Mr. Overweg.

All this disagreeable business, which is so killing to the best hours, and destroys half the energy of the traveller, had retarded my departure so long that the sun was just setting when I left the gate of the town. My little caravan was very incomplete; for my only companion on emerging from the gate into the high waving fields of Guinea corn, which entirely concealed the little suburb, was an unfortunate young man whom I had not hired at all, my three hired servants having stayed behind on some pretext or other. This lad was Mohammed ben A'hmed, a native of Fezzán, whom I wanted to hire, or rather hired, in Gúmmel, in March last, for two Spanish dollars a month, but who, having been induced, by his companions in the caravan with which he had just arrived from the north, to forego the service of a Christian, had broken his word, and gone on with the caravan of the people from Sókna, leaving me with only one useful servant. But he had found sufficient leisure to repent of his dishonourable conduct, for, having been at the verge of the grave in Kanó, and being reduced to the utmost misery, he came to Kúkawa, begging my pardon, and entreating my compassion; and, after some expostulation, I allowed him to stay without hiring him, and it was only on seeing his

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attachment to me in the course of time, that I afterwards granted him a dollar a month, and he did not obtain two dollars till my leaving Zínder, in January, 1853, on my way to Timbúktu, when I was obliged to augment the salary of all my people. This lad followed me with my two camels.

All was fertility and vegetation, though these fields near the capital are certainly not the best situated in Bórnu. I felt strengthened by the fresh air, and followed the eastern path, which did not offer any place for an encampment. Looking round, I saw at length two of my men coming towards us, and found to the left of the track, on a little sandy eminence, a convenient spot for pitching my tent. I felt happy in having left the monotony and closeness of the town behind me. Nothing in the world makes me feel happier than a wide, open country, a commodious tent, and a fine horse. But I was not quite comfortable; for, having forgotten to close my tent, I was greatly annoyed by the mosquitoes, which prevented my getting any sleep. The lake being very near, the dew was so heavy that next morning my tent was as wet as if it had been soaked with water.

Notwithstanding these inconveniences, I awoke in the morning with a grateful heart, Sept. 12th. and cared little about the flies, which soon began to attack me. I sat down outside the tent to enjoy my liberty: it was a fine morning, and I sat for hours tranquilly enjoying the most simple landscape (the lake not being visible, and scarcely a single tree in

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sight) which a man can fancy. But all was so quiet, and bespoke such serenity and content, that I felt quite happy and invigorated. I did not think about writing, but idled away the whole day. In the evening my other man came, and brought me a note from Mr. Overweg, addressed to me "in campo caragæ Æthiopiensis" (karága means wilderness).

Saturday, Sept. 13th. I decided late in the morning, when the dew had dried up a little, upon moving my encampment a short distance, but had to change my path for a more westerly one, on account of the large swampy ponds, formed at the end of the rainy season in the concavity at the foot of the sandhills of Dawerghú. The vegetation is rich during this season, even in this monotonous district.

Having at length entered the corn-, or rather millet-fields of Dawerghú, we soon ascended the sandhills, where the whole character of the landscape is altered; for, while the dum-bush almost ceases, the rétem, *Spartium monospermum*, is the most common botanical ornament of the ground where the cultivation of the fields has left a free spot, whilst fine specimens of the mimosa break the monotony of the fields. Having passed several clusters of cottages forming an extensive district, I saw to the right an open space descending towards a green sheet of water, filling a sort of valley or hollow where, a short time afterwards, when the summer harvest is over, the peculiar sort of sorghum called másakwá is sown. Being shaded by some fine acacias, the spot was very in-

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viting, and, feeling already tired, sick and weak as I was, though after a journey of only two hours, I determined to remain there during the heat of the day. I had scarcely stretched myself on the ground, when a man brought me word that a messenger, sent by Ghét, the chief of the Welád Slimán, had passed by with the news that this wandering and marauding tribe had left Búrgu and returned to Kánem. This was very unpleasant news, as, from all that I had heard, it appeared to me that Búrgu must be an interesting country, at least as much so as A'sben or A'ír, being favoured by deep valleys and ravines, and living sources of fine water, and producing, besides great quantities of excellent dates, even grapes and figs, at least in some favoured spots.

The morning had been rather dull, but before noon the sun shone forth, and our situation on the sloping ground of the high country, overlooking a great extent of land in the rich dress of vegetable life, was very pleasant. There was scarcely a bare spot: all was green, except that the ears of the millet and sorghum were almost ripe, and began to assume a yellowish-brown tint; but how different is the height of the stalks, the very largest of which scarcely exceeds fifteen feet, from those I saw afterwards on my return from Timbúktu, in the rich valleys of Kébbi. Several Kánembú were passing by, and enlivened the scenery.

When the heat of the sun began to abate, I set my little caravan once more in motion, and passed on

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through the level country, which in the simplicity of my mind I thought beautiful, and which I greatly enjoyed. After about an hour's march, we passed a large pond or pool, situated to the left of the road, and formed by the rains, bordered by a set of trees of the acacia tribe, and enlivened by a large herd of fine cattle. Towards evening, after some trouble, we found a path leading through the fields into the interior of a little village, called Alairúk, almost hidden behind the high stalks of millet. Our reception was rather cold, such as a stranger may expect to find in all the villages situated near a capital, the inhabitants of which are continually pestered by calls upon their hospitality. But, carrying my little residence and all the comforts I wanted with me, I cared little about their treatment; and my tent was soon pitched in a separate courtyard. But all my enjoyment was destroyed by a quarrel which arose between my horseman and the master of the dwelling, who would not allow him to put his horse where he wished: my horseman had even the insolence to beat the man who had received us into his house. This is the way in which affairs are managed in these countries.

Sunday, September 14th. After a refreshing night I started a little later than on the day previous, winding along a narrow path through the fields, where, besides sorghum, karás (*Hibiscus esculentus*) is cultivated, which is an essential thing for preparing the soups of the natives, in districts where the leaves of the kúka, or monkey-bread-tree, and of the

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hajilíj, or *Balanites*, are wanting; for though the town of Kúkawa has received its name from the circumstance that a young tree of this species was found on the spot where the sheikh Mohammed el Kánemi, the father of the ruling sultan, laid the first foundation of the present town, nevertheless scarcely any kúka is seen for several miles round Kúkawa.

The sky was cloudy, and the country became less interesting than the day before. We met a small troop of native traders, with dried fish, which forms a great article of commerce throughout Bórnu; for, though the Kanúri people at present are almost deprived of the dominion, and even the use, of the fine sheet of water which spreads out in the midst of their territories, the fish, to which their forefathers have given the name of food (bú-ni, from bú, to eat), has remained a necessary article for making their soups. The fields in this part of the country were not so well looked after, and were in a more neglected state; but there was a tolerable variety of trees, though rather scanty. Besides prickly underwood of talhas, there were principally the hajilíj or bíto (*Balanites Ægyptiaca*), the selím, the kórna, the serrákh, and the gerredh or *Mimosa Nilotica*. Further on, a short time before we came to the village Kalíkágorí, I observed a woman collecting the seeds of an eatable *Poa*, called "kréb" or "kashá," of which there are several species, by swinging a sort of basket through the rich meadow-ground. These species of grasses afford a great deal of food to the inhabitants

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of Bórnu, Bagírmi, and Wádáy, but more especially to the Arab settlers in these countries, or the Shúwa; in Bórnu, at least, I have never seen the black natives make use of this kind of food, while in Bagírmi it seems to constitute a sort of luxury even with the wealthier classes. The reader will see, in the course of my narrative, that in Más-eñá I lived principally on this kind of *Poa*. It makes a light palatable dish, but requires a great deal of butter.

After having entered the forest and passed several small waterpools, we encamped near one of these, when the heat of the sun began to make itself felt. This district abounded in mimosas of the species called gerredh, úm-el-barka, or "kingar," which affords a very excellent wood for saddles and other purposes, while the coals prepared from it are used for making powder. My old talkative, but not very energetic companion Bu-Zéd, was busy in making new pegs for my tent, the very hard black ground of Bórnu destroying pegs very soon, and in the meantime, assisted by Hosén ben Hár, gave me a first insight into the numerous tribes living in Kánem and round the Bahr el ghazál. The fruits of the gerredh, which in their general appearance are very like those of the tamarind-tree, are a very important native medicine, especially in cases of dysentery; and it is, most probably, to them that I owed my recovery when attacked by that destructive disease during my second stay in Sókoto in September, 1854. The same tree is essential for preparing the water-skins, that most

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necessary article for crossing the desert. The kajíji was plentiful in this neighbourhood. The root of this little plant, which is about the size of a nut, the natives use in the most extensive way for perfuming themselves with.

Late in the afternoon we continued our journey through the forest, which was often interrupted by open patches. After having pursued the path for some miles, we quitted it, and travelled in a more easterly direction through a pleasant hilly country, full of verdure, and affording pasturage to a great many cattle; for the Kánembú, like the Fúlbe, go with their herds to a great distance during certain seasons of the year, and all the cattle from the places about Ngórnu northwards is to be found in these quarters during the cold season. But not being able to find water here, we were obliged to try the opposite direction, in order to look for this element so essential for passing a comfortable night. At length, late in the evening, traversing a very rugged tract of country, we reached the temporary encampment, or berí, of a party of Kánembú with their herds, whilst a larger berí was moving eastward. Here also we were unable to find water, and even milk was to be got but sparingly.

Monday, 15th.

Before we were ready to move, the whole nomadic encampment broke up, the cattle going in front, and the men, women, and children following with their little households on asses. The

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most essential or only apparatus of these wandering neatherds are the tall sticks for hanging up the milk to secure it; the "sákti" or skins for milk and water, the calabashes, and the kórió. The men are always armed with their long wooden shields, the "ngáwa fógobe," and their spears, and some are most fantastically dressed, as I have described on a former occasion. After having loaded our camels, and proceeded some distance, we came to the temporary abode of another large herd, whose guardians at first behaved unfriendly, forbidding our tasting a drop of their delicious stuff; but they soon exchanged their haughty manners for the utmost cordiality when Mádi, an elder brother of Fúgo 'Alí, our friend in Maduwári, recognized me. He even insisted on my encamping on the spot, and staying the day with him; and it was with difficulty that he allowed me to pursue my march, after having swallowed as much delicious milk as my stomach would bear. Further on we joined the main road, and found to the left of it a handsome pool of muddy water, and filled two skins with it. Certainly there is nothing worse for a European than this stagnant dirty water; but during the rainy season, and for a short time afterwards, he is rarely able to get any other.

Soon after, I had another specimen of the treatment to which the natives are continually exposed from the king's servants in these countries; for, meeting a large herd of fine sheep, my horseguard managed to lay hold of the fattest specimen of the whole herd, not-

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withstanding the cries of the shepherd, whom I in vain endeavoured to console by offering him the price of the animal. During the heat of the day, when we were encamped under the scanty shade of a few gáwo, my people slaughtered the sheep; but, as in general, I only tasted a little of the liver. The shade was so scanty, and the sun so hot, that I felt very weak in the afternoon when we went on a little.

I felt tolerably strong. Soon after we had started, we met a great many horses which had been sent here for pasturage, and then encountered another fish kafla. My horseman wanted me all at once to proceed to the town of Yó, from whence he was to return; and he continued on without stopping, although I very soon felt tired, and wanted to make a halt. The country, at the distance of some miles south from the komádugu, is rather monotonous and barren, and the large tamarind-tree behind the town of Yó is seen from such a distance that the traveller, having the same conspicuous object before his eyes for such a length of time, becomes tired out before he reaches it. The dúm-palm is the principal tree in this flat region, forming detached clusters, while the ground in general is extremely barren.

Tuesday, Sept. 16th.

Proceeding with my guardian in advance, we at length reached the town, in front of which there is a little suburb; and being uncertain whether we should take quarters inside or outside, we entered it. It consisted of closely-packed streets, was extremely hot, and exhaled such an offensive smell of dried fish, that

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it appeared to me a very disagreeable and intolerable abode. Nevertheless we rode to the house of the shitíma, or rather, in the full form, Shitíma Yóma (which is the title the governor bears), a large building of clay. He was just about taking another wife; and large quantities of corn, intended as provision for his new household, were heaped up in front of it.* Having applied to his men for quarters, a small courtyard with a large hut was assigned to us in another part of the town, and we went there; but it was impossible for me to make myself in any way comfortable in this narrow space, where a small gáwo afforded very scanty shade. Being almost suffocated, and feeling very unwell, I mounted my horse again and hastened out of the gate, and was very glad to have regained the fresh air. We then encamped about 600 yards from the town, near a shady tamarind-tree; and I stretched my feeble limbs on the ground, and fell into a sort of lethargy for some hours, enjoying a luxurious tranquil-

* The marriage (nigá) ceremonies in this country fill a whole week. The first day is dedicated to the feasting on the favourite "nákia," the paste mentioned before; the second to the "tíggra," a dried paste made of millet, with an immense quantity of pepper; the third to the "ngáji," the common dish made of sorghum, with a little fish sauce, if possible; the fourth day is called "líktere," I think from the taking away the emblems of the virginal state of the bride, "larússa;" the fifth, the bride is placed on a mat or búshi, from which she rises seven times, and kneels down as often; this is called "búshiro," or "búchiro genátsin;" the next day, which must be a Friday, her female friends wash her head while singing, and in the evening she is placed upon a horse and brought to the house of the bridegroom, where the final act of the nigá is accomplished. The Kanúri are very peculiar in the distinction of a marriage with a virgin, "féro," or "féro kuyánga," or a widow, or "kámo záwar."

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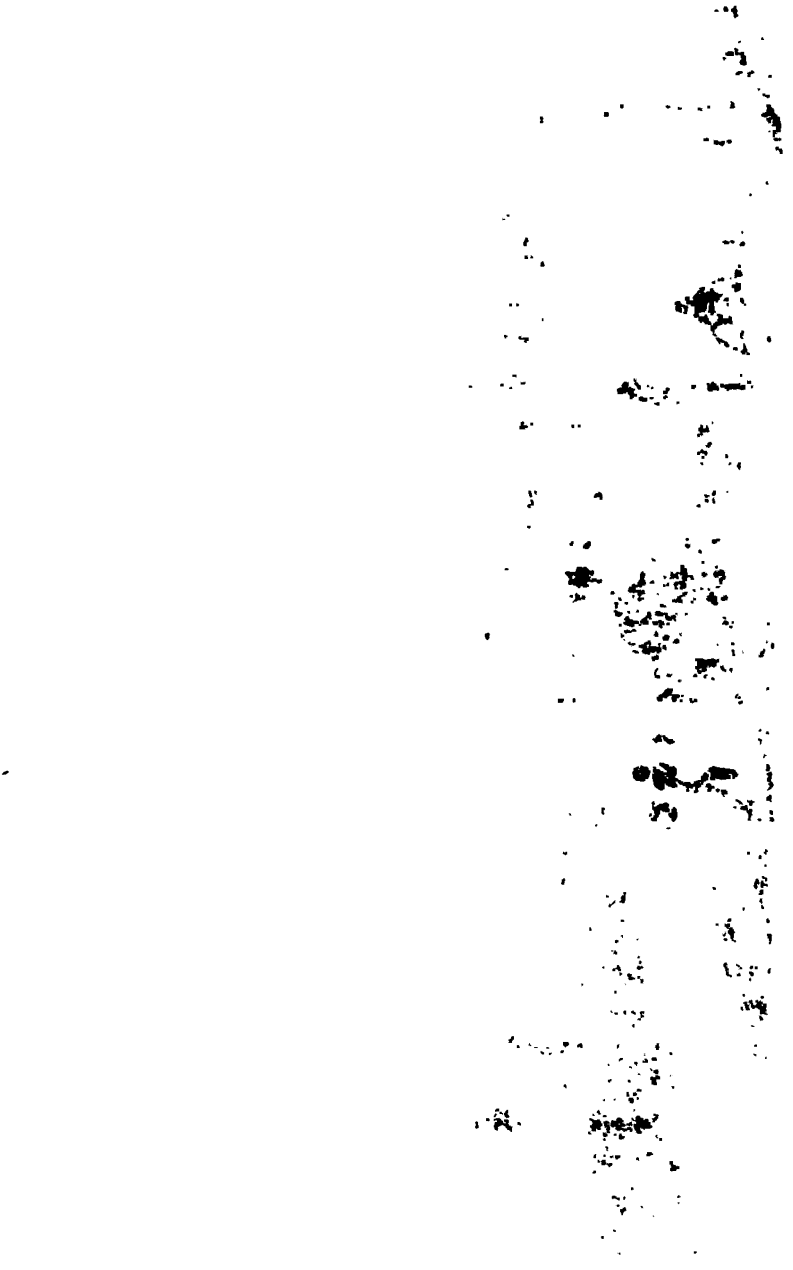

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lity; I was so fatigued with my morning's ride, that I thought with apprehension on what would become of me after my companions had joined me, when I should be obliged to bear fatigue of a quite different description.

As soon as I felt strong enough to rise from my couch, I walked a few paces in order to get a sight of the river or "komádugu." It was at present a fine sheet of water, the bed being entirely full, "tsimbúllena," and the stream running towards the Tsád with a strong current; indeed, I then scarcely suspected that on another occasion I should encamp for several days in the dry bed of this river, which, notwithstanding the clear and undoubted statements of the members of the former expedition with regard to its real character, had been made by Capt. W. Allen to carry the superfluous waters of the Tsád into the Kwára. The shores of the komádugu near this place are quite picturesque, being bordered by splendid tamarind-trees, and "kínzim," or dúm-palms, besides fine specimens of the acacia tribe on the northern shore. At the foot of the tamarind-trees a very good kind of cotton is grown, while lower down, just at this season of the year, wheat is produced by irrigating regularly laid out grounds by way of the shadúf or "lámbuna." Cotton and small quantities of wheat are the only produce of this region, besides fish and the fruit of the *Cucifera* or dúm-palm, which forms an essential condiment for the "kunú," a kind of soup made of Negro millet; for the place is entirely desti-

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tute of any other *Cerealia*, and millet and sorghum are grown only to a small extent. Cattle also are very scarce in Yó; and very little milk is to be procured. Fish is the principal food of the inhabitants, of which there are several very palatable species in the river, especially one of considerable size, from eighteen to twenty inches long, with a very small mouth, resembling the mullet.

I saw also a specimen of the electric fish, about ten inches long, and very fat, which was able to numb the arm of a man for several minutes. It was of an ashy colour on the back, while the belly was quite white; the tail and the hind fins were red. Mr. Overweg made a slight sketch of one.

During the night a heavy gale arose, and we had to fasten the ropes attached to the top of the pole; but the storm passed by, and there was not a drop of rain; indeed the rainy season, with regard to Bórnu, had fairly gone by.

Wednesday, Sept. 17th. Enjoyed in the morning the scenery and the fresh air of the river. Men were coming to bathe, women fetching water, and passengers and small parties were crossing the river, swimming across with their clothes upon their heads, or sitting on a yoke of calabashes with the water up to their middle. A kafla or "karábka" of Tébu people from Kánem had arrived the day before, and were encamped on the other side of the river, being eager to cross; but they were not allowed to do so till they had obtained permission; for, during several months, this river or valley forms annually a sort of qua-

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rantine line, whilst, during the other portion of the year, small caravans, at least, go to and fro at their pleasure.

The only boat upon the water was a mákara, formed by several yokes of calabashes, and of that frail character described by me in another part of this work, in which we ourselves were to cross the river. Unfortunately it was not possible to enjoy quietly and decently the beautiful shade of the splendid tamarind-trees, on account of the number of waterfowl and pelicans which reside in their branches.

On removing some of my luggage, I found that the white ants were busy destroying, as fast as possible, my leather bags and mats; and we were accordingly obliged to remove everything, and to place layers of branches underneath. There are great numbers of ants hereabouts; but only moderately sized ant-hills are seen; nothing like the grand structures which I afterwards saw in Bagírmi.

Thursday, Sept. 18th.

About two hours after midnight Mr. Overweg arrived, accompanied by one of the most conspicuous of the Welád Slimán, of the name of Khálef-Allah, announcing the approach of our little troop; which did not, however, make its appearance until ten o'clock in the morning, when the most courageous and best mounted of them galloped up to my tent in pairs, brandishing their guns. There were twenty-five horsemen, about a dozen men mounted upon camels, and seven or eight on foot, besides children. They dismounted a little to the east of our

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tents, and formed quite an animated encampment; though of course quarrels were sure to break out soon.

Feeling a little stronger, I mounted with my fellow-traveller in the afternoon, in order to make a small excursion along the southern shore of the river, in a westerly direction. The river, in general, runs from west to east; but here, above the town, it makes considerable windings, and the shore is not so high as at the ford. The vegetation was beautiful; large tamarind-trees forming a dense shade above, whilst the ground was covered with a great variety of plants and herbs just in flower. On the low promontories of the shore were several small fishing villages, consisting of rather low and light huts made of mats, and surrounded by poles for drying the fish, a great many of which, principally of the mullet kind, were just suspended for that purpose. Having enjoyed the aspect of the quiet river-scenery for some time, we returned round the south side of the town. The ground here is hilly; but I think the hills, though at present covered with verdure, are nothing more than mounds of rubbish formed in the course of time round the town, which appears to have been formerly of greater extent.

Friday, Sept. 19th. Overweg and I, accompanied by Khálef-Allah and a guide, made an excursion down the river, in order, if possible, to reach its mouth; but the experiment proved that there is no path on the southern shore, the track following the northern bank: for on that side, not far from the mouth, lies a considerable Kánembú place called Bóso, though, in the present weak state of the Bórnu kingdom, much exposed to

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the incursions of the Tawárek. Having penetrated as far as a village, or rather a walled town, named Fátse, the walls of which are in a decayed state, and the population reduced to a dozen families, we were obliged to give up our intended survey of the river. As for myself, I was scarcely able to make any long excursion; for on attempting to mount my horse again, I fainted, and fell senseless to the ground, to the great consternation of my companions, who felt convinced my end was approaching. We therefore returned to our encampment. In the evening I had a severe attack of fever.*

Saturday, Sept. 20th.

It had been determined the day before that we should cross the river to-day, and the governor's permission had been obtained; but as the vizier's messenger had not yet arrived, we decided upon waiting another day. Feeling a little better, I made a rough sketch of the town, with the dúm-palms around it, and prepared myself, as well as I was able, for the fatiguing march before me. We had a good specimen to-day of the set of robbers and freebooters we had associated with in order to carry out the objects of the mission. The small Tébu caravan, which I mentioned above as having arrived from Kánem, and which had brought the news that the

* Mr. Overweg, at a later period, visited the town of Bóso, but without accurately surveying the line of the river, and without stating exactly the character of the point where it joins the lagoon, except that the river, beyond Fátse, takes a much more northerly direction.

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people of Wadáy had made an alliance with all the tribes hostile to the Welád Slimán, in order to destroy the latter, had not been allowed to cross the river until to-day. They were harmless people, carrying very little luggage (chiefly dates) upon a small number of oxen; but as soon as they had crossed, our companions held a council, and, the opinion of the most violent having gained the upper hand, they fell upon the poor Tébu, or Kréda, as they call them, and took away all their dates by force. The skins were then divided; and the greater part of them had already been consumed or carried away, when an old Arab arrived, and, upbraiding his companions with their mean conduct, persuaded them to collect what remained, or that could be found, and restore it to the owners. In the evening the vizier's messenger arrived, and the crossing of the river was definitively fixed for the next day.

Monday, Sept. 22nd. Rose early, in order to get over in time, there being no other means of crossing than two mákara, each consisting of three yokes of calabashes. The camels, as is always the case, being the most difficult to manage, had to cross first; and after much trouble and many narrow escapes (owing principally to the unevenness of the bottom of the valley, the water channel having formed a deep hollow — at present from ten to eleven feet deep — near the southern shore, while in the middle the bottom rises considerably, leaving a depth of only six or seven feet) they all got safely over, and were left to indulge in the foliage of the beautiful mimosas which

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embellish the northern border of the river. The horses followed next, and lastly we ourselves with the luggage.

About nine o'clock in the morning I found myself upon the river on my three-yoked "mákara," gliding through the stream in a rather irregular style of motion, according as the frail ferry-boat was drawn or pushed by the two black swimmers yoked to it. It was a beautiful day, and the scenery highly interesting; but, having been exposed to the sun all the morning, I was glad to find a little shade. When all the party had successively landed, and the heat of the day had abated, we loaded our camels and commenced our march. We were now left entirely to the security and protection which our own arms might afford us; for all the country to the north of the komádugu has become the domain of freebooters, and though nominally sheikh 'Omár's dominion stretches as far as Berí, and even beyond that place, nevertheless his name is not respected here, except where supported by arms.

The country through which we were passing bore the same character as that for some miles round the capital; a very stiff, black soil, clothed with short grass and a few trees far between. Having encountered a flock of sheep, our friends gave chase; and after they had laid hold of three fat rams, we decided to encamp.

Tuesday, Sept. 23rd.

For the first four hours of our march the character of the surrounding country remained nearly the same; it then opened, and became

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better cultivated; and soon after we saw the clay walls of Báruwa, though scarcely to be distinguished, owing to the high mounds of rubbish imbedding them on all sides. Near the south-west gate of the town the road leads over the high mound (which destroys entirely the protection the wall might otherwise afford to the inhabitants), and lays its whole interior open to the eyes of the traveller. It consists of closely packed huts, generally without a courtyard, but shaded here and there by a mimosa or kúrna, and affords a handsome specimen of a Central African dwelling-place. The inhabitants, whose want of energy is clearly seen from the nature of the mounds, do not rely upon the strength of their walls; and to the disgrace of the sheikh of Bórnu, who receives tribute from them, and places a governor over them, they likewise pay tribute to the Tawárek. They belong in general to the Kánembú tribe; but many Yédiná, or Búdduma, also are settled in the town. Their principal food and only article of commerce is fish, which they catch in great quantities in the lake, whose nearest creeks are, according to the season, from two to three miles distant, and from which they are not excluded, like the inhabitants of Ngórnu and other places, on account of their friendly relations with the warlike pirates of the lake. As for corn, they have a very scanty supply, and seem not to employ the necessary labour to produce it, perhaps on account of the insecure state of the country, which does not guarantee them the harvest they have sown. Cotton they have none, and are obliged to barter their fish for cotton

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strips or articles of dress. Indeed, gábagá or cotton strips, and kúlgu, or white cotton shirts, are the best articles which a traveller, who wants to procure fish for his desert journey by way of Bílma (where dry fish is the only article in request), can take with him.

At the well on the north side of the town, which does not furnish very good water, the horsemen belonging to our troop awaited the camels. Only a few scattered hajilíj (*Balanites Ægyptiaca*) and stunted talha-trees spread a scanty shade over the stubble-fields, which were far from exhibiting a specimen of diligent cultivation; and I was very glad when, having taken in a small supply of water, we were again in motion. We soon left the scanty vestiges of cultivation behind us, and some bushes of the siwák (*Capparis sodata*) began to enliven the country. At eleven o'clock, having mounted a low range of sand-hills, we obtained a first view of the Tsád, or rather of its inundations. The whole country now began to be clothed with siwák. Having kept for about half an hour along the elevated sandy level, we descended, and followed the lower road, almost hidden by the thickest vegetation. This lower road, as well as our whole track to Ngégimi, became entirely inundated at a later period (in 1854), and will perhaps never more be trodden: in consequence, when I came this way in 1855 we were obliged to make a circuit, keeping along the sandy level nearer to the site of the ancient town of Wúdi.

Shortly afterwards we encamped, where the underwood had left a small open space, at the eastern foot

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of a low hill. The prickly jungle was here so dense that I searched a long time in vain for a bare spot to lie down upon, when, to my great satisfaction, I found Bú-Zéd clearing me a place with his axe. The swampy shore of the lake was only about four hundred yards from our resting-place; but the spot was not well chosen for an encampment, and it was found necessary to place several watches during the night, notwithstanding which, a skin of mine, full of water, disappeared from the stick upon which it was suspended, and the Arabs tried to persuade me that a hungry hyæna had carried it off; but it was most probable that one of themselves had been in want of this necessary article of desert travelling.

Wednesday, September 24th. We continued our march through the luxuriant prickly underwood, full of the dung and footsteps of the elephant. Here and there the *capparis* had been cut away, and large fireplaces were to be seen, where the roots had been burnt to ashes. The tripods, of which several were lying about, are used for filtering the water through these ashes, which takes from them the salt particles which they contain. This water is afterwards boiled, and thus the salt obtained. This salt is then taken to Kúkawa by the Kánembú, whilst those who prepare it are Búdduma.

On our return from Kánem we met large numbers of this piratical set of islanders; and on my home journey in 1855, I saw them in the full activity of their labours. This salt, weak and insipid as it is, is at least of a better quality than that which the people

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in Kótoko prepare from neat-dung. In Míltu, on the Upper Shári, or Bá-busó, salt of a tolerable quality is obtained from a peculiar species of grass growing in the river. The Músgu, as we shall see, prepare this necessary article (or at least something like it) from the ashes of the stalks of millet and Indian corn.

After we had emerged from the underwood into the open country, we passed a considerable salt-manufactory, consisting of at least twenty earthen pots. Large triangular lumps of salt were lying about, which are shaped in moulds made of clay. Several people were busy carrying mud from an inlet of the lake which was close at hand, in order to make new moulds. Keeping close along the border of the latter, and enjoying the fresh breeze which had before been kept from us by the forest, we halted early in the afternoon. A small Tébu caravan was also encamped here, no doubt with the intention of passing the night; but they did not like the neighbourhood of our friends, and, loading immediately, started off.

Our path now lay through fertile pasture-grounds, with a line of underwood to our left. It was a fine cool morning. We passed a large pool of fresh water, frequented by great numbers of waterfowl of various species. Overweg, on his fine and tall, but rather heavy and unwieldy charger, made an unsuccessful attempt to overtake a pair of kelára (*Antilope Arabica? Aigocerus ellipsiprymnus?*), who scampered playfully away through the fine grassy plain. At

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nine o'clock we reached the far-famed place Ngégimi, and were greatly disappointed at finding an open, poor-looking village, consisting of detached conical huts, without the least comfort, which, even in these light structures, may well be attained to a certain degree. The hungry inhabitants would not receive anything in exchange for a few fowls which we wanted to buy, except grain, of which we ourselves, in these desolate regions, stood too much in need to have given it away without an adequate substitute.

The situation of this place is very unfavourable, since the ruler of Bórnu has restricted his real dominion within the border of the komádugu, and the poor inhabitants are constantly in fear of being molested by a ghazzia of the Tawárek. Indeed, two years later, this village was plundered by these free-booting hordes; and some months afterwards, in the year 1854, the remainder of the population, who had not been carried away into captivity, were obliged, by the high floods of the lagoon, to leave their old dwelling-place altogether, and build a new village on the slope of the sand-hills, where I found it at the end of May, 1855. As for Wúdi (a large place, once an occasional residence of the Bórnu kings) and Lári, both mentioned by Denham and Clapperton, they have long been deserted, Wúdi having been taken and ransacked by the Tawárek in the year 1838, and Lári a little later. At present only a few palm-trees (said to yield a kind of date far superior to the little black Kánem dates) in the sand-hills about eight miles S.W.

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from Ngégimi, indicate the site of the once celebrated Wúdi. Ngégimi was then nominally under the control of Kashélla Hasen or Hassan.

Plunged into sad reflections on the fate of this once splendid empire of Kánem, and the continued progress of the Berber race into the heart of Sudán, I hung listlessly upon my horse, when, on leaving this uncomfortable dwelling-place, we took our course over the unbroken plain, once no doubt the bottom of the lake, and soon to become once more a part of it. Sometimes it was dry and barren, at others clothed with rich verdure, while on our left it was bordered by a range of sand-hills, the natural limit of the lagoon. At a little before noon we came to a deep inlet of the lake, spreading the freshest verdure all around in this now desolate country. Having watered our horses, and taken in a sufficient supply of this element for the night, we crossed the plain, here not more than a thousand yards wide, and ascended a broad promontory of the range of sand-hills, where we encamped.

It was a delightful spot, where the heart might have expanded in the enjoyment of freedom. In front of us to the south-east, the swampy lands of the lagoon, one immense rice-field (as it ought to be at least), spread out to the borders of the horizon; but no "white water," or open sea, was to be seen, not even as much as connected channels, nothing but one immense swampy flat, stretching out as far as the eye could reach. To the south the green pasturages, along which we had come, extended far beyond

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Ngégimi. It was a picture of one of the most fertile spots of the earth doomed to desolation. But there was a feeble spark of hope in me that it would not always be so; and I flattered myself that my labours in these new regions might contribute to sow here the first germs of a new life, a new activity.

My companions and friends did not seem to share in my feelings: for, wholly intent upon mischief, they had been roving about, and having fallen in with some Kánembú cattle-breeders, they had plundered them not only of their milk, but also of the vessels which contained it; and in the afternoon some respectable old men applied to Mr. Overweg and myself, the only just people they were sure to find amongst this wild band of lawless robbers, for redress, and we were happy, not only to restore to them their vessels, but also to make them a few small presents.

Thursday, Sept. 25th. Descending from our lofty encampment, we continued our march in the narrow grassy plain, between the sand-hills to the north, and another blue inlet of the lake to the south, where the rich pasture-grounds extended further into the lake.

It was about seven o'clock in the morning when we had the good fortune to enjoy one of the most interesting scenes which these regions can possibly afford. Far to our right was a whole herd of elephants, arranged in regular array, like an army of rational beings, slowly proceeding to the water. In front appeared the males, as was evident from their size, in regular order; at a little distance followed the

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young ones; in a third line were the females; and the whole were brought up by five males of immense size. The latter (though we were at some distance, and proceeding quietly along) took notice of us, and some were seen throwing dust into the air; but we did not disturb them. There were altogether ninety-six.

The fine fresh pasture-grounds some time afterwards gave way to a drier plain, covered with a species of heath, and the country presented rather a melancholy appearance. A little before ten o'clock we came to a large herd of cattle or "berí," collected round a small hamlet or dawar, consisting of light, high-topped huts of corn-stalks, fastened together by three rings of straw, and lightly plastered with a little cow-dung. But although we obtained some milk, some of our friends, not content with filling their stomachs, laid hold of a fine pony and carried it off, under the pretext that it belonged to the Búdduma, who, as they asserted, were the enemies of the sheikh; and when we had started again, and encountered a small caravan of oxen laden with dates, not only were all the skins containing the dates taken, but another ruffian laid hold of one of the beasts of burden and dragged it away with him, notwithstanding the lamentations of its owner. And yet the people who were thus treated were subjects of the king of Bórnu, and the Welád Slimán were his professed friends and hirelings.

Fine fresh pasture-grounds, and melancholy tracts clothed with nothing but heath, succeeded each other,

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whilst not a single tree broke the monotony of the level country. At length we encamped near a deserted village of cattle-breeders, consisting of about twenty small conical huts, built in the form of a large circle. We had scarcely begun to make ourselves comfortable, when a noisy quarrel arose about the dates so unjustly taken from their owners, and some of the Arabs concerned in the dispute came to my tent in order to have their claims settled, when the whole particulars of the shameless robberies committed in the course of the day, came under my notice, and especially that of the horse. But this was a delicate subject, and one that excited the angry passions of those concerned—so much so that one of them, named Ibrahím, came running with his loaded gun straight into my tent, threatening to blow out the brains of anybody who spoke of injustice or robbery. As for Bakhér, and 'Abd e' Rahmán, who were the actual possessors of the horse, they were about to leave by themselves.

The violent proceedings of our protectors had spread such terror throughout these almost desolate regions, that in the evening, solely from fear, two oxen and a quantity of milk were sent from a neighbouring berí as presents. The night was fresh, but not cold, and a very heavy dew fell.

Friday, Sept. 26th. Reached about noon the first large cluster of huts of the village of Berí, after having followed a very numerous and fine herd of cattle (one of the finest I saw in the interior of

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the continent) for awhile, with the urgent desire of obtaining a drink of fresh milk, and then crossed a tolerably deep inlet of the lagoon. Here we encamped on a terribly hot sandy spot, without any shade, some two hundred yards from the village, which stretches in a long line from north to south.

Berí is a place of importance, at least since the date of the greatest splendour of the Bórnu kingdom, and is frequently mentioned in the history of the great king Edrís Alawóma, written during his lifetime by his chief imám Ahmed. Its situation is such as to render it of great importance as a station; for here the army proceeding from Bórnu to the interior of Kánem leaves the shore of the lagoon, and has generally to make a long stay, in order to regain strength for the ensuing march, and to supply itself with fresh provisions. Till a few years previously, a Bórnu governor of the name of Shitíma Aba had been residing here; but he had given up the place, and preferred living in the capital.

But here I must add, that there are two places called Berí, distant from each other a few miles, the one where we were encamped being called Berí-kurá, the Great Berí, the other with the surname "futé" (the western), from its more westerly situation; but it is at present greatly reduced, and we had left it unobserved on one side. The greater part of the inhabitants of Berí are Kánembú, and belong to the clan of the Sugúrti, a large division of that tribe, which, however, in the last struggle of the old dy-

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nasty, suffered greatly. Besides these, a good many Búdduma are settled here.

I was very glad when, after another severe quarrel, the young horse was at length given up by the robbers, as likewise the beast of burden. One of the oxen sent yesterday as a present was slaughtered to-day, and divided amongst the whole band. As for myself, I made merry on a little fresh milk; for though the people are, and appear to have been from their birth (for "berí" means cattle-herd), in possession of numerous herds of cattle, nevertheless, in the village, as is often the case, there is very little milk — only just as much as is required for the use of the owners themselves—the cattle being at a great distance. Very little can be obtained here, and corn is scarcely cultivated, owing to the insecure and desperate state of the country. The inhabitants are in continual intercourse with the Yédiná, that section of the Kótoko who inhabit the islands in the lake, and who are generally called Búdduma. But of course the distance of their village from the lagoon varies considerably; and the nearest branch or inlet at present was that which we had crossed in the morning, and from which the inhabitants supplied themselves with water. The want of firewood is greatly felt; scarcely a single tree is to be met with in the neighbourhood.*

* I will here add the stations of another route between Ngégimí and Berí. 1st day: sleep in Ngubó, an open village inhabited by Kúri; arrive before heat of day. 2nd. Tabúnte, the first place in

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We now left the shores of the lake, ascending a little, but had a difficult march this morning in order to avoid the many small boggy inlets and natron-lagoons which are formed by the lake, and wind along through the sand-hills. With regard to these natron-lakes, which, after the report of Major Denham, have led to many erroneous conjectures respecting Lake Tsád, I have to observe that the natron or soda is not originally contained in the water, but in the ground, and that all the water of Lake Tsád is fresh; but when a small quantity of water, after the Lake has retired from the highest point of its inundation, remains in a basin the soil of which is filled with soda, the water of course becomes impregnated with this quality. The consequence is, that there are many basins round Lake Tsád which, according to the season, are either fresh or brackish; for the soda contained in the ground has very little effect so long as the basin is deep, and does not begin to make itself felt till the water becomes shallow. Of this same character seems to be Lake Bóro in Kánem, which I shall mention hereafter. I here remind the reader of what I have stated above with regard to the importance of the natron-trade between Bórnu and Núpe or Nýffi.

Saturday, Sept. 27th.

Having no guide — for who would willingly trust himself in the hands of such lawless robbers as our companions? — we found it rather difficult work

Kánem. 3d. Berí. Some people going from Ngégimí to Berí sleep the first night in Turra, second night in Baláya.

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to get out of this labyrinth of lagoons; and after a few miles we came to a narrow but very boggy inlet, which it was thought necessary to cross.

Riding a lively horse, an excellent "sayár," I was rather in advance, and had only three horsemen in front of me; on coming to the bog, the nature of which it was easy to perceive, we rode one after the other, — Khálef-Allah being in front of me. The first horseman went in, made a few steps, and then came down; but he got his horse upon his legs again, went on, and again sunk into the bog, but being near the firm ground, got over tolerably well. As soon as those who were before me saw this they stopped their horses short, and wanted to return, pressing my horse upon his side, who, being annoyed by the morass, made a vacillating movement forward, and fell upon his knees; upon being raised he made some wild exertions to get through, but after two or three ineffectual attempts, he again fell on his side, and I under him. The morass here was about four feet deep; and I received several smart blows from the forelegs of my horse, upon the head and shoulders, before I was fortunate enough to extricate myself from this interesting situation. Being clad in a white bernús over a Nýffi tobe, with a pair of pistols in my belt, my appearance may be easily conceived when, after a great deal of labour, I succeeded in reaching firm ground. I had still the difficult task of extricating my horse, which, after wild and desperate exertions, lay motionless in the bog. I had on

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this occasion a good specimen of the assistance we were likely to receive from our companions in cases of difficulty; for they were looking silently on without affording me any aid. Mr. Overweg was some distance behind, and, when he came up, was enabled to supply me with dry clothing.

The spot would have been quite interesting but for this accident, as there was here, favoured by the rich soil and this very morass, a beautiful plantation of red ngáberi or sorghum, of that peculiar kind called mósogá, or rather, másakwá, in the highest state of exuberance, and just beginning to ripen; it was the finest specimen I saw on my whole journey. Fortunately the sun was moderately warm, as I began to feel very chilly after my involuntary bath. We continued our march at first along another hollow containing fresh water, and then, ascending a little, came upon a sandy level well clothed with herbage and trees of the mimosa kind. Here we seemed to be entirely out of reach of the lake; and great was our astonishment when a little after nine o'clock we came close upon another fine sheet of fresh, blue water. It was a great satisfaction to me, in the state I was in, that we encamped at so early an hour on its northern border, where some serrák afforded a tolerable shade. I was busy drying my clothes, arms, saddlecloths, and journals, when there appeared certain indications of an approaching storm; and in order to avoid being wetted twice in the same day, I got my tent pitched. After a furious gale the

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rain poured down, and about a dozen of my companions took refuge in my small, frail dwelling; but all were not so fortunate as to escape a wetting, for the rain, being very heavy, came in at the door. The storm lasted more than an hour; and everything, including horses and camels, being thoroughly soaked, it was decided to remain here for the night.

Sunday, Sept. 28th. For some reason or another, but chiefly in order to slaughter the other ox, divide it, and cut it up into "gedíd," we remained here the whole morning; and the sun had long passed into zawál (past noon) when we started through the sandy and slightly undulating country full of herbage, principally of the plant called "nesí," besides bu-rékkeba or *Avena Forskalii*, the bur-feathered prickle *Pennisetum distichum*, and various kinds of mimosa, chiefly consisting of the talha and úm el barka (*Mimosa Nilotica*). Our companions found several ostrich-eggs, and met a large troop of gazelles. The country then became more thickly wooded, and, where we encamped for the night, presented a very interesting character; but the danger from wild beasts was considerable, and the roar of a lion was heard throughout the greater part of the night.

Monday, Sept. 29th. Started early: the character of the country continued the same as yesterday, and presented beautiful specimens of the mimosa, here breaking down from age, at another place interwoven with creepers, one species of which produces the red juicy fruit called "fito" by the Kanúri, and has been

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mentioned by me before. It was nearly eight o'clock when, proceeding in groups, two of our horsemen, on passing near a very large and thick gherret, suddenly halted, and with loud cries hastened back to us. We approached the spot, and saw a very large snake hanging in a threatening attitude from the branches of the tree: on seeing us it tried to hide itself; but after firing several balls, it fell down, and we cut off its head. It measured 18 feet 7 inches in length, and at the thickest part 5 inches in diameter, and was of a beautifully variegated colour. Two natives, who had attached themselves to our troop the day before, cut it open and took out the fat, which they said was excellent.

The ride was truly interesting; but by degrees it became too much for me, and after seven hours' march I was so utterly exhausted as to be obliged to halt, and lie down. Most of the Arabs remained with us; others, with 'Ali ben 'Aisa, went on to the well. When we pursued our march in the afternoon, the country for the first three hours was more level, but then became very hilly; and at five o'clock we ascended a considerable elevation to our left, the highest point in the whole country, but perhaps not more than 600 or 700 feet above the level of the Tsád. From here we crossed two very pretty valleys, or dells, especially the second one, where there were very curious hilly projections of a calcareous stone. But these valleys were very poor indeed, in comparison with the valley or hénderi Fóyo, situated at

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some distance from the well where we encamped for the night; for its bottom presented one uninterrupted mass of vegetation, impenetrable in many spots. Here the botanist might be sure to find some new species, although the principal trees were the kúrna (*Cornus*), serrákh, úm el barka, or *Mimosa Nilotica*, hajilíj, or *Balanites*, and the talha, *M. ferruginea*, but all interwoven with creepers, and offering the most delightful shade.

These valleys, which afford the only watering-places, must of course be very dangerous during the night, on account of the wild beasts, principally lions, of which there are great numbers hereabouts. Here our companions received a messenger from Ghét, the young chief of the Welád Slimán.

Tuesday, Sept. 30th. We remained in the forenoon and during the heat of the day in our encampment. While stretched out in the shade of a fine mimosa, I obtained some valuable information regarding the various tribes dwelling in Kánem, and the districts of their settlements. But it will be better, instead of inserting it here, to collect all the information I received at different times into one general account, which shall be given in the Appendix.

In the afternoon the camels and the heavier portion of the troop were allowed to start in advance, and the horsemen followed about half an hour afterwards, after having watered the horses; but instead of taking care to follow the footsteps of the camels in a wild country where there was no regular path, they

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rode on negligently, and soon became aware that they had missed the track. There now began a very disorderly riding in all directions. This fatigued me greatly, for nothing is so vexing to a weak man as to ramble about without knowing when he is likely to reach the place of repose so much looked for. After sending scout after scout, we at length found the track, and reached our men in the dark.

Having set out early, after nearly two hours' ride we were met by a single horseman coming towards us from the encampment of the Welád Slimán, and bidding us welcome to their wild country. They kept starting up from the thicket on our right and left, firing their muskets and saluting us with their usual war-cry "yá riyáb, yá riyáb." Having thus advanced for about half an hour, we came to a halt, in order to receive in a more solemn form the warlike compliments of a larger troop of horsemen, led on by a person of some importance. Wednesday, October 1st.

The dust raised by the horsemen having subsided a little, and the country being clearer of wood, we now saw before us the whole cavalry of the Welád Slimán drawn up in a line in their best attire, their chief Ghét the son of Séf el Nasr ben Ghét, and his uncle 'Omár the son of Ghét and brother of 'Abd el Jelíl, in the midst of them. This stately reception, not having been anticipated by Overweg and myself, made a great impression upon us; but we were not left to gaze long, but were desired by our Arab companions to ride in advance of the line in compliment to

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the chiefs. We accordingly put our steeds into a gallop, and riding straight up to our new friends, saluted them with our pistols. Having answered our compliments, and bidding us welcome to their wild abode, the young Ghét galloping along at the head of his squadrons, his sword drawn, and with the continuous cry "yá riyáb, yá riyáb," they led us to the encampment, and we had a place shown to us where we might pitch our tents.

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CHAP. XL.

THE HORDE OF THE WELÁD SLIMÁN.

We had now joined our fate with that of this band of robbers, who, in consequence of their restless habits, having been driven from their original dwelling-places in the Syrtis*, after a great variety of events have at length established themselves in this border region between the desert and the fertile regions of Negro-land, under the guidance of Mohammed the son of 'Abd el Jelíl, on the ruins of the old kingdom of Kánem, very much in the same way as in the west the Welád Ammer (Ludamar) have established themselves on the ruins of the empire of Mélle. At that time they mustered a considerable force, and being joined by a great many adventurers from all the Arab tribes from the Ríf as far as Fezzán, were able to bring into the field from 900 to 1000 horsemen. They then turned their attention towards our friends the Kél-owí, and began to seize upon their camels, which came to Bílma for the salt-trade; these, as the reader has seen from my previous account, are always pro-

* I will only refer to the animated description which Captain Lyon (Narrative, p. 54.) gives of the former power of this tribe.

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ceeding in large caravans; but it is almost impossible to give implicit credit to the statement which was made to us by several individuals, that the Welád Slimán had taken from the Tawárek more than 30,000 camels in the course of two or three years.

If they had continued in this way for a short time, they would have brought about an immense revolution in the whole of Central Africa; for the Kél-owí would of course not have been able to provide Háusa with salt, after having lost their camels, and thus, having no salt for bartering, would have remained without the most necessary articles of subsistence: they would accordingly have been obliged either to starve or to emigrate into, and take possession by force of, the more fertile districts of Sudán. But before they were driven to this extreme, they made one energetic effort against their enemies, and succeeded; for, having summoned the contingents of all the different tribes inhabiting A'ír or A'sben, they collected a host of at least 7,000 men, chiefly mounted on camels, but comprising also a considerable number of horsemen, and proceeded to attack the lion in his den, in the beginning of the year 1850.

I am almost inclined to suspect that the people of Bórnu had a hand in this affair; at least, the existence of such a warlike and restless horde of men, and mustering considerable forces, as the Welád Slimán were then, under the guidance of Mohammed, and in such a neighbourhood, could not be wholly indifferent to any ruler of Bórnu possessed of prudence and fore-

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sight. Of course, since its power had decreased to such a degree that it could not of itself make the necessary resistance against the daily encroachments of the Tawárek, it was of great service to Bórnu to have such a strong and energetic auxiliary to keep them down. But, be this as it may, the Arabs left their very strong entrenchments at Késkawa (which, at the first news of the intended expedition, they had formed on the border of the Tsád, and which the Tawárek themselves confessed to me they would never have been able to conquer), and separated, not thinking that their enemies were able to carry out their intention; for all those tribes which had come to join them, as the Gedádefa, the Ferján, the Urfílla, the Ftáim, Swási, Temáma, and Dhóhob, after having enriched themselves with the spoils of the Tawárek, were anxious to carry away their booty in safety, and proceeded on their home-journey by way of Kúffara. They were just encamped in the Wadi 'Alála, where my readers will soon have to accompany me, when a scout brought the news that a very large host of the Tawárek was close at hand; but they say that his report did not find credit, and that on this account the Arabs had no time to make any preparations, but were all on a sudden surrounded on all sides by the numerous host of their enemy. It is moreover to be understood that the greater part of this band were merely armed with guns, which are very useful in a skirmish of horsemen, who can retreat after having fired them off, but of very

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little use in close combat; few of them were armed with pistols, and still fewer with swords. But the Kél-owí, in addition to their numbers, had also the advantage of superior arms, having spear, sword, and dagger, even if we do not take into account their muskets, which they rarely know how to use. The consequence was, that the Arabs, after having killed a small number of their enemies in the foremost lines, were soon overpowered and massacred, not half of them succeeding in making their escape. Their chief Mohammed himself made his way through the host very severely wounded, and was slain, according to report, shortly after by a Tébu woman who recognized him. Sáid, the most valiant of all the Welád Slimán, but also the most violent, was killed on the spot, together with the bravest champions of the little horde; and a very considerable booty was made by the Tawárek, not only in camels and slaves, but also in silver, the chiefs having amassed a great deal of property. Thus the flower of this troop was destroyed, and only the least brave and youngest were left.

The vizier of Bórnu then took the young man, to whom very little power and property were left, under his special protection, entering with him and the remaining part of the tribe into a contract, to the effect that he would furnish them with horses and muskets, as far as they should stand in need of them, on condition of their delivering to him a certain share of their booty in every expedition. Of course, such

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a troop of swift horsemen armed with muskets, if kept in strict subjection and subordination, might have proved exceedingly useful on the northern borders of Bórnu, on the one side as a check upon the Tawárek, on the other upon Wadáy. But the great difficulty, which the vizier appears not to have overcome, was to subject the predatory excursions of such a set of people to some sort of political rule.

With this view he sent the young chief, who was scarcely more than twenty years of age, to Kánem with all that were left of the Welád Slimán, keeping back in Kúkawa, as hostages for his proceedings, his mother and the wives and little children of some of the principal men. But from the beginning there was a strong party against the young chief, who had not yet achieved any exploit, and whose sole merit consisted in his being the nearest relation of 'Abd el Jelíl. 'Omár, his uncle, who from his youth had given himself up to a life of devotion, and was called a Merábet, had a considerable party; and there were, besides, several men who thought themselves of as much importance as their chief. In the absence of individual authority in a small band like this, which only numbered 250 horsemen, no great results could be produced. All the tribes settled in Kánem and the adjacent districts were their natural enemies: the Nóreá or Nuwárma and the Shendákóra and Médema, the Sákerda and Karda in the Bahar el Ghazál, the Búltu, the Woghda, the Welád Ráshid, the Díggana or Dághana, the Welád Hamíd, the Hommer and the Máha-

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míd in Khúrma, all were bent upon their destruction, while none but the Lasálà or el Asálà beyond Kárká, and the Kánembú tribe of the Fugábú, were attached to them. All the tribes around call them only by the name Mínnemínne, or Menémené ("the Eaters"), which name, although it seems to have arisen in the real gluttony of these Arabs, might be referred appropriately to their predatory habits.*

In the course of these broils and petty intrigues the most repectable among them took to commerce, while others formed the design of returning; and when I left Bórnu in May, 1855, the rest of the little band had separated into two distinct camps, and the dissolution or ruin of their community was fast approaching.

This was the horde with which, in order to carry out the objects of our mission to the utmost of our power, Mr. Overweg and I were obliged to associate our fate; but, unfortunately, we were unprovided with that most essential article for exciting a more than common interest in ourselves personally, or the objects of our mission, namely, valuable presents.

While our people pitched our tents, Mr. Overweg and I went to pay our compliments to Sheikh Ghét and 'Omár, and to have a friendly talk with them before we proceeded to more serious business. They seemed to expect this compliment, having lain down in the shade of a tree at a short distance

* The Tebú call them Erdi mádé, "the red enemies," or Yógodé.

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from our place of encampment. Ghét, who was smoking a long pipe, was a tolerably handsome young man; but his pronunciation was very defective, and he had nothing very commanding in his manner. Having exchanged a few compliments, and asked some general questions, we withdrew, and soon after received a present of dates and milk. A great many of the Arabs paid us a visit; and a renegade Tripolitan Jew, 'Abd-Allah, with the surname "el Musulmáni," who would not leave us for a moment, kept telling us of his adventures and his importance, and assuring us of his most disinterested affection for us. Though his former religion differed from ours, and he had again exchanged this for another from mere worldly motives, he nevertheless thought himself entitled to the claim of brotherhood, and was gracious enough to call us sometimes his cousins (welád ámí). There was another man who tried to make himself as agreeable as possible to us, and endeavoured to obtain our friendship; this was an Egyptian named Ibrahím, a fine tall man who evidently belonged originally to a good family; but he had run away from home, and was now leading, in company with this little horde, a restless, remorseful, and wearisome life.

When the heat of the day had a little abated, we prepared the small present we had to give to Sheikh Ghét, and which consisted of a red cloth bernús of good workmanship, a pound of cloves, a pound of jáwi or benzoin, and a razor. We were well aware that it was rather a trifling gift, considering the assistance

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we required from these people to carry out our object; but we knew also that it was rather a favour bestowed upon us by the vizier of Bórnu, who regarded these people as in his service. Referring therefore to the friendship which existed of old between their tribe, when still in their old settlements in the Syrtis, and the English consul in Tripoli, and delivering a letter from Mr. Frederick Warrington, who was personally well known to the chief men, we openly professed that the object of our coming was to try, with their assistance, to visit the eastern shore of the lake, and especially the Bahar el Ghazál, which had formed a remarkable object of curiosity in our country for some time. But Sheikh Ghét without hesitation declared it was impossible for them to take us to that place, the most dangerous locality in all these quarters, on account of the many predatory expeditions which were made to that spot from different quarters, and by tribes hostile to them. After some common-place talk about the English, we left him, and went to his uncle with a present of precisely the same kind, and began here to urge the distinct object of our coming in a more positive way. I expressed the opinion that, as they would render acceptable service to the British Government, if they were to enable us to investigate the connection between the Bahar el Ghazál and the lake, so, on the other hand, a great portion of the blame, if we should not be able to carry out our design, would certainly fall upon them, inasmuch as they had always professed to be

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under great obligations towards the English. 'Omár ben Ghét ben Séf e' Nasr acknowledged all this; but he doubted very much if the band, in its present reduced state, would be able to carry us to those quarters, which were entirely under the sway of Wadáy. The Bahar el Ghazál having given an opportunity of speaking about the river-system between the Tsád and the Nile, our friend came forward with a most confused statement, which it would not be worth while to explain. But with regard to that large wádi itself we found that he, as well as the experienced men among these Arabs, asserted that it took its course not towards, but from the lake.

We then took our leave of 'Omár, and returned to our tents. The place of the encampment was a fine, open, sandy, undulating level, commanding the vale, where are the wells Yongo or Bú-Halíma, covered with verdure, and richly adorned with scattered mimosas. The tents and sheds of the Arabs were spread over a great space; and no precaution was taken to obtain some degree of security by means of fences and stockades. The sun having set, I lay down outside my tent to enjoy the coolness and tranquillity of the evening after a hot and troublesome day.

All seemed calm and tranquil, when suddenly a terrible screaming and crying arose from the women in the west part of the encampment. We hurried to our arms, thinking that an enemy had entered

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the place. The cry "'Alá e' dhahar ! àlá e' dhahar" ("Mount! mount!") — properly speaking, "In the saddle! in the saddle!"—sounded from all sides, and the horsemen hurried past us; but it was only a small party of freebooters, who, in the twilight of the evening, had made an attack upon the camels, and after having put to flight two or three men and killed a horseman, had driven off a part of the herd. Our friends pursued the robbers at full speed, and soon overtook them, when they retreated into the thicket, and gave up their booty.

In this way we had a specimen of the character of our present expedition the very first day we had joined this little horde; and the lamentations of the females, on account of the man who had been slain, sounded wofully through the night, and brought before our minds the fate which, in a very short time, might befall ourselves. Late in the night, when the alarm had subsided, Sheikh Ghét sent us a heifer as a present.

Thursday, October 2nd. We remained quietly in our encampment, and obtained a great deal of valuable information respecting the south-eastern part of the lake and the districts adjacent.* Thus the day passed by most pleasantly.

Nothing remarkable happened to us on the following day, except the arrival of the important news that the Agíd of Wadáy, who had resided in M'awó, on the

* The whole of this information is collected in the Appendix.

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report of an attack intended to be made by the Arabs upon that town, had fled. This news, if it proved true, held out, of course, a feeble ray of hope that we might be able to penetrate to the eastern shore of the lake; and the Arabs formed schemes accordingly. As Háj 'Abbás, who had come with us in order to raise from the Arabs Háj Beshír's share in the spoil of their last predatory excursions, was to return to Kúkawa in a few days, I wrote a letter to the vizier concerning the prospect we had of probably not being able to accomplish the whole of our design. The rest of the day I enjoyed in comfort, stretched quietly in the shade of a tree; but my tranquillity was a little disturbed by disputes that arose amongst my men.

Saturday, October 4th.

Very early in the morning, when all was quiet, I was aroused from my sleep by the mournful song of an Arab, who, between the different stanzas of his dirge, seemed to give vent to his tears. The impression made by this song, which was full of deep feeling, among such a horde of lawless people, where generally only the meanest side of man was exhibited, was charming; but as the singer was at some distance from my tent, I could not distinctly make out what was the cause of his grief, neither was I able to learn it afterwards: the thoughts of the Arabs were taken up by another affair. The most handsome among the female slaves who composed part of the spoil that was to be taken to the vizier by his officer Háj

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'Abbás, had made her escape during the night; they were eagerly searching from dawn of day, but could not find her. At length they discovered her necklace and clothes, and the remains of her bones,—evident proofs that she had fallen a prey to the wild beasts. She belonged to the Yédiná or Búdduma, and was represented as having been possessed of considerable charms; and it was supposed that her loss would affect the vizier greatly, who, as I have before observed, was rather fond of an ethnological variety of female beauty. There was a great deal of unpleasant conversation about this affair, the girl not yet having been delivered up to Háj 'Abbás when she made her escape.

But there were many other causes of discord among this little horde, and when the vizier's officer set out, a great many more of the Arabs made use of this opportunity to go to Kúkawa than had been agreed upon. The most serious loss to us was certainly the departure of Sheikh 'Omár, Ghét's uncle, who, on account of his experience and knowledge of the English, which much exceeded that of his youthful nephew, might have been of considerable service to us. At any rate he ought to have informed us of his intention to leave, as by his accepting our present, it was understood that he undertook the obligation of assisting us in carrying out our project; and having nothing to spare, we felt rather disappointed. But although our prospects were not too flattering, at least we had hopes of moving a little onwards, as our

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departure from this place was fixed for the following day.

When the camels, guarded by the men on foot, had left in the morning, we went first with the other horsemen to the well, in order to water our horses. We had not visited it before, as it was at some distance from our tents. The vale was of that general wild and luxuriant character which distinguishes the valleys of Kánem; but it was even more wild and picturesque than usual, and a chill draught of air met us proceeding from the richly-wooded dale, where the sun's rays never penetrated. There were several wells, which exhibited a busy and interesting scene, the horsemen in their picturesque attire (a mixed dress of their native abode and their present adopted home) thronging around these sources and centres of life, in order to water their poor-looking but persevering nags. When we returned to the place of our former encampment all was desolate, and loneliness and silence had succeeded to the animated dwelling-place of a quarrelsome multitude of people. We hurried on over undulating sandy ground, richly overgrown with trees, and soon overtook our camels: the place of our destination was not far off; and at noon we were already encamped on a fine sandy level, rising over another luxuriant hollow or vale especially rich in kúrna-trees, whence the well "Bír el Kúrna" has received its name. It was a spacious encampment, with Arabs and Tébu intermixed, and could not but be very salubrious, although we found

Sunday, October 5th.

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afterwards, just in this elevated position, the difference between the cold of the night and the heat of the day extraordinary. Our appetite being rather keen, we indulged in the luxury of some turtle-soup: for turtles are by no means a rarity in these districts, although in general they seem to be of a rather small size. I do not remember to have seen or heard in this quarter of such large specimens as seem to be common in the country round A'ír.

Monday, October 6th. The day of the 'Aíd el kebír. I went in the morning, as soon as the sun began to shine forth, to a place in a cool shade a little south from our encampment, without knowing that this was the very spot which the Arabs had chosen for their holiday prayers. In general only a few of them were praying; but to-day the leading persons among them, who came here with Sheikh Ghét, offered up their prayer with solemnity and apparent fervour.

This proved an unlucky day to us, and very unfavourable to our design to penetrate into those dangerous districts on the east side of the lake; for a considerable portion of the tribe (one hundred and fifty men with about seventy horses) left that day for Kúkawa, to our great surprise and mortification, and, as it would seem, also to the mortification of the young chief, a circumstance of which we became fully aware when we paid him a visit about noon. Of course, with our very small means, and the poor and insignificant character of our mission, we could not expect that this unsettled horde should

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have a scrupulous regard to our wishes and designs in arranging their affairs. It was quite evident that their proceeding was the mere effect of a stubborn sense of independence, and jealousy; and it seemed to be done in open opposition to the wish of their young chief. About one o'clock in the afternoon they left; and we forwarded a short note with them expressive of our dissatisfaction at this state of things, which filled us with the saddest forebodings as to the success of our mission,

But while thus disappointed in more important matters, we felt tolerably well off in material comforts; for in the morning a party of Fugábú arrived with a number of sheep for sale, selling two for a dollar, and thus enabled us to gratify the religious longing of our servants for an extra dish on this their holiday. In the course of the evening, a numerous caravan of oxen laden with grain, or rather negro-millet, arrived from Bórnu, which made provisions a little cheaper. The grain grown in the country, in its present wild and desolate state, is not sufficient for the population, though so greatly reduced; and the last season had been rather an unfavourable one. In consequence of the arrival of this caravan, we not only had the opportunity of buying corn at a cheaper rate, but we also got some from the chief as a present.

Everything in Kánem is bought with the common white Bórnu shirts, which form the general dress of the people, black tobes being worn only by richer per-

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sons. Even the general dress of the Arabs settled here in Kánem consists of these white tobes and a háik made of the same stuff, only the wealthier individuals being able to buy a woollen plaid. The dress of the females, too, is made of these very tobes, which are cut into the regular oblong pieces of which they consist, and sewn together lengthwise.

Tuesday, October 7th. Being obliged to remain here without the certain prospect of doing anything worth while, we at least thought we had some right to the hospitality of our hosts; and we expressed our desire to obtain a little more milk, as we ourselves possessed neither cows nor she-camels. Our request was complied with. Thus we accustomed ourselves entirely to camel's milk, and found it by degrees more palatable and wholesome than the milk of cows. I attribute the recovery of my strength principally to this sort of diet. There was always some milk brought into the encampment by the daughters of the Beni Hassan; but this was generally milk in an unpleasant intermediate state between sweet and sour, and the vessels (the kórió, made of the leaves of the palm-tree) in which it was carried had usually a bad smell, which they communicated to the milk.

As the renegade Jew 'Abd-Allah (el Musulmáni) was the medium through which all our business with the chief was transacted, I made him to-day a present of a red sash, and continued to keep him in good humour by occasional small presents. This man was a

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curious specimen of a Jewish adventurer. He was by birth a Tripolitan, but had been obliged to leave his native home on account of a murder which he had committed. He then betook himself to the tribe of the Welád Slimán, exchanging his Jewish creed for that of Mohammed, and obtained protection. When he had gained a good deal of property as a silversmith, his new companions stripped him of his treasures: he then for a time separated from them, and in company with two other renegade Jews, Músa and Ibrahím, made a journey to Negroland — a memorable event, as they were the first of their nation who trod this road. On his receiving news of the prosperity of the Welád Slimán in Kánem, he once more joined them, and became a freebooter. He was a very good horseman; but that was all, his horsemanship but badly supplying his want of courage. However he was useful to us in many respects, although we had to take care that the people did not confound us with these Jewish adventurers.

I began this day my little vocabulary of the Tébu language, or rather the "módi Tedá," and provisionally that dialect of this language which is spoken by the inhabitants of Búrgu, and which varies considerably from the language as it is spoken by the inhabitants of Bílma, and in the South of Fezzán. Already at that early period I became aware that this language is nearly related to the Kanúri, while it has scarcely any link whatever which externally connects it with the Berber language.

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Wednesday, October 8th. The only thing which happened this day worth mentioning was the arrival of Hallúf, a warlike Tébu chieftain, with seventeen horsemen of the Fugábú Tébu, who rode up in a very spirited manner to the tent of Sheikh Ghét. Hallúf, a man of great bodily size and strength, and renowned in these quarters on account of his valour, had formerly been the enemy of Bórnu, but had now been won over to its interest. However, he was still too much afraid of the Bórnu people to join the Welád Slimán, as long as Háj 'Abbás the vizier's messenger was present; but he came as soon as he heard that he was gone. He was not a very scrupulous man, as I soon convinced myself, when he with the Fugábú called upon us, and as soon as he had introduced himself began begging for poison. We of course cut his demand short. He then sat quietly down with his companions, and took great delight in the performances of my musical box, which I really found, together with the watch, the most useful instrument for demonstrating to the people the great superiority of European genius and handicraft. These people were not without sympathy for those lively airs which the little instrument was capable of performing, and would sit down quietly for a great length of time enjoying this mysterious music. The rumour soon spread, and Sheikh Ghét likewise desired to be made acquainted with the mysterious little box. But the day did not end so harmlessly;

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for bad tidings arrived. Háj 'Abbás, on his way to Bórnu, had seen a troop of Kindín near Ngégimi, and warned the Arabs to beware of a sudden attack. Thus uneasiness and anxiety spread through the encampment, and scouts were sent out to scour the country in every direction.

News having been brought in the morning that three Tawárek on horseback, and five on camels, had been seen at a neighbouring well, an alarm was raised immediately. All the Arabs mounted; and we followed their example, though I felt extremely weak, while my horse, having had rest and good food for several days, and seeing so many companions galloping and capering about, was almost unmanageable. Friday, October 10th.

The whole encampment presented a very warlike appearance; but it turned out to be a false alarm. We therefore returned into the encampment, and began to arrange our luggage, as we were to leave here the heaviest part of our things, and take only as little as possible with us in our progress further eastward; for the Arabs had conceived the hope of plunder, the news having been brought that the Khalífa of Wadáy had left his residence Màwó, and that nobody was there to defend that quarter against their inroads. At the same time, our friends cast a longing look towards Báteli, the celebrated pasture-grounds in the northern course of the Bahar el Ghazál, two days' march beyond Egé, where numbers of camels were reported

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to be collected at the time. Of course they did not want it to become known where they intended to direct their foray, and therefore spoke now of this, then of that quarter, as likely to be the object of their expedition.

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CHAP. XLI.

SHITÁFL.—THE EASTERN, MORE FAVOURED, VALLEYS OF KÁNEM.

WITH the rest of our people, and with the remaining two camels carrying the smaller part of our luggage, we accompanied the following day the more active part of the horde, while the older men were left behind for the defence of the encampment, with their families and property. Saturday, October 11th.

The country through which our way led was entirely of the same character as that which I have already described, a sandy level adorned with trees of moderate size, almost all of the genus *Mimosa*, and in favourable seasons well adapted for the cultivation of Indian corn —now and then broken by deep hollows of larger or smaller extent, generally with a sufficient supply of water to produce fine plantations or corn-fields, and overgrown with more luxuriant vegetation. We crossed a fine vale of this description about eight miles from our starting-point, and chose our camping-ground on the higher level commanding the "Bír el Ftáim." The hollow, however, which contains this well is rather of a peculiar kind; for, unlike the other basins, which afford sufficient space for cultivation, it is extremely narrow, while the encompassing slopes, at least that on the north side, rise to a greater

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altitude than the general level of the country. I made a sketch of it.

On this commanding point there was a village of the Fugábú Kóbber; and Overweg and I, before we went to our encampment, which was chosen on the southern slope, paid these people a visit, dismounting under a tree at some distance from their light huts, and were well received. They brought us immediately a dish made of the meal of Indian corn and sour milk, and sat down cheerfully, questioning us as to the difference between their country and ours, and asking, with regard to the politics of England, whether we were the friends or enemies of Dár-Fúr and Wadáy (which countries, together with Bórnu, comprised their political horizon), and expressed great astonishment at our instruments. They brought us a lion's skin, and soon after another very palatable dish of deshíshe made of wheat, with very good butter, which had nothing of that nasty taste peculiar to the butter of Bórnu and the surrounding countries: the dish was seasoned with dates.

It would have been far more instructive and agreeable to us to be in the constant company and under the protection of these people, the natives of the country, who would have made us acquainted with its characteristic features so much better than that band of lawless robbers who took no real interest in it, except as regarded the booty which it afforded them. But they had neither power nor authority; and we were satisfied that where the Arabs were

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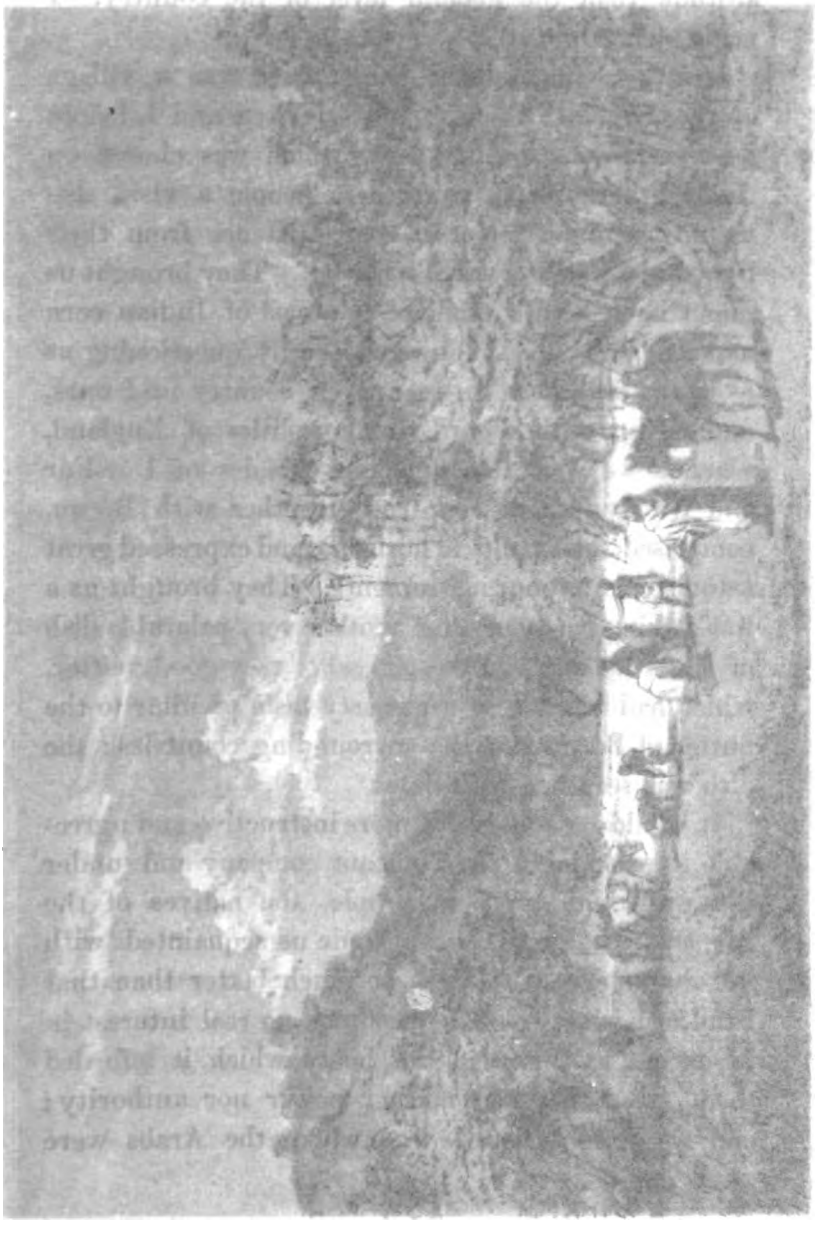

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not able to conduct us, these people never could. Notwithstanding their alliance with the Arabs, they are treated with contempt by the latter, and the Arabs never omit to add a sneer when they speak of the "damned" ("ám bú") Keráda; for so they call the Fugábú. Of course the intercourse of these two different people can neither be sincere nor intimate, and the natives were only waiting for their day of revenge.

A storm gathering and threatening to burst upon us, we hastened away from this spot; but there was only a little rain. In the evening there arrived two Shúwa from the villages of the Woghda, and were thrown into irons, in order not to betray the approach of the Arabs.

Sunday, October 12th.

We went on a short distance to another well situated in a considerable hollow or basin, which might afford, and has once afforded, a splendid place for cultivation, but which at present was entirely blocked up and made really impassable by rank and wild vegetation. With great trouble we penetrated with the first horsemen to the well. Nobody had made use of it for a long period. The water was very bad and unwholesome. The Arabs had not encamped at this place for at least seven years; hence there was a rich abundance of excellent food for the camels; but the danger from beasts of prey was also very great. The ground was full of elephants' dung; and wild pigeons were hovering about in great numbers.

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The place for our encampment was chosen on the level commanding the rich basin on the eastern side, and descending into it by a steep slope of from 300 to 400 feet. Here I laid myself down in the cool shade of a luxuriant serrákh not far from the slope, and surveyed the trains of the Fugábú, who in the course of the day arrived with their little movable household, having left their former residence near Bír el Ftáim. In the evening we paid a visit to the sheikh, and as usual were obliged to give him and his companions some account of European matters, though it would have been far more interesting for us to listen to their own stories, so full of incidents of a wild restless life.

Monday, October 18th. The weather was cool, and a strong north wind made it rather chilly. Having been told that we were not to leave the next day, I purchased a ram, with a white tobe which I had bought for about forty rotl in Kúkawa, receiving, besides the ram, one sáa or zékka of Guinea corn to complete the bargain. I afterwards got a fine fat goat, which we slaughtered to-day, and found its meat pretty good. Hallúf came while I was lying in the shade of my serrákh of the preceding day, which I had nicely cleaned, and sat down to a chat; he assured me that he was able to bring us to Kárká or Kargha, the swampy country in the south-east corner of the lake, which forms an archipelago of small islands, and would offer his services for that purpose, but that he was afraid of Sheikh Ghét's jealousy.

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He then went with me over my little Tébu vocabulary, and corrected some slight mistakes. He was quite a sociable man; but Overweg, as well as I, doubted much whether he could be trusted.

Having consulted what course to take, we went to the sheikh and asked him whether he really thought Hallúf would be able to take us with any degree of safety to Kárká. He did not hesitate to declare that Hallúf was unable to accomplish what he had boasted of, and begged us to have patience till news should arrive from Bórnu, where he had sent to ask for advice with regard to our design of visiting the eastern side of the lake, and respecting his own proceedings. We rather imagined that the vizier had given him orders, at the same time that he sent us out to Kánem, to assist us in carrying out our project in every respect; and we could scarcely hope for any favourable result by their asking advice at such a distance. We therefore complained to 'Abd-Allah of the sheikh's lukewarmness; and presuming that he was not content to leave us under the protection of Hallúf because he expected that the latter would get some handsome present from us, we told him that even if we were to go with Hallúf, we should regard ourselves as still under the protection of the sheikh, to whom we were entirely indebted for Hallúf's acquaintance, and would make him a valuable present if we should not fail in our enterprise. This seemed to take effect; and we received the satisfactory message in the

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evening, that we should be allowed to go with Hallúf, but that we must make a handsome present to the sheikh, besides the large tent which I had prepared for myself in Tripoli. Being willing to make any sacrifice in order to carry out the express wish of the government who had sent us, and elated by the prospect that something might be done, we paid another visit to Sheikh Ghét in the evening, but could not arrive at any definite arrangement. There was a great deal of talk about a certain Keghámma, who alone had the power to take us to Kárká, while Hallúf at best was said to be able to conduct us to Máwó; but at that time we could not make out distinctly who this Keghámma was, except that we learnt that he resided in a place called Kárafu, in the direction of Máwó.

Tuesday, October 14th. The strong wind making it rather uncomfortable outside, I remained in my tent studying the Tébu language, and conversing with the fáki 'Othmán, a man who, by his mild conduct, formed a curious contrast to the lawless and quarrelsome character of this band of robbers, besides being possessed of less prejudice and superstition. In the afternoon several Fugábú paid us a visit; they all behaved well, and were not troublesome. It was at length decided that we should leave the second day following, with Hallúf, for the Bahar el Ghazál and Kárká; and although we were sorry at not having brought the affair to a more definite conclusion, we yet indulged in the hope that we should be able to

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attain our object, when suddenly in the evening we received information that Hallúf had receded from his engagement, and that therefore no further idea of our going with him could be entertained.

What the reason was for this sudden change of proceeding I cannot say; but all our arguments, of course, were faulty, as we were unable to give them sufficient weight by good presents. That the tidings of the carrying off of three herds of cattle from a village at a few miles' distance from Yó, by the Tawárek, which arrived this evening, could have had any influence upon this course of policy was rather improbable.

I was so happy as to collect a good deal of information about the country of Shitáti, which we had now entered, once densely inhabited in large and populous cities, and passed the day quietly and usefully. We heard, to our great joy, that we were to go on the next day with the whole expedition. Wednesday, October 15th.

We had scarcely left the place of our encampment when we fell in with an elephants' track, apparently leading to the well, and followed it for a long distance; it was well trodden, and was an undoubted proof that these huge animals abounded in this wild deserted region, where man had left scarcely any trace of his presence. Having proceeded at a swift rate, we crossed, at the distance of about six miles, a very fine hollow or vale stretching south and north, and capable of producing Thursday, October 16th.

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everything, and even at that time exhibiting a few vestiges of human activity and industry in a small field of wheat, irrigated from those wells called "khâttatír" by the Arabs, which name is given by them also to the spot irrigated in this way. Its native name, if I am not mistaken, is "Yakállogo."

We then came to another hollow, formed like an ancient circus, and having its soil richly impregnated with natron; it is called Bérendé. After a short halt here, we continued our march; and Overweg and I, while our men and camels followed the direct road, turned off towards the south, and visited another hollow, called "Bóro," in whose deep bottom a lake is formed, which, according to the season and to the quantity of water it contains, like several other water-basins round the lake, may be termed a fresh or brackish-water lake.

During the last rainy season but very little rain had fallen in Kánem; and consequently this lake was of rather small extent, being about one mile and a half round, and limited to the more deeply depressed southern corner of the basin, while its northern corner, which is rarely inundated, was thickly wooded. There was formerly much cultivation here, and a small village stood on the border of the lake. Now all is desolate; and our Kánemma guide, Músa Bedé, unwilling to make a longer stay in such a spot, hurried on, ascending the steep eastern slope, which is at least three hundred feet high. Here we obtained a view over a great extent of country; but it was all one desolate

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wilderness, and nothing particular to be seen, excepting a party of five men watching our movements, and keeping parallel with us. We therefore returned to our troop and informed them of the circumstance; and a body of horsemen were sent in pursuit.

We then, about half an hour before noon, crossed another hollow or vale, called Towáder, with the dry basin of a lake in its southernmost part, on whose border were several wells; the ground was thickly overgrown with underwood. Continuing our march, we reached, after noon, a more extensive and extremely beautiful vale, richly clothed with vegetation, but not in so wild a state, and not of the same impenetrable character, as many of those which we had seen; the reason seemed to be, that it was less deep, being only about 150 feet under the higher level.

Here the troop halted during the heat of the day, the groups being scattered over the whole extent of the hollow; but it was not a fit spot for a night's encampment, as well on account of the wild beasts, as of the danger of a sudden attack from hostile men. Sweet as repose was here in the cool shade of a luxuriant serrákh or a kúrna, the ground was full of scorpions; and my bodyguard, Bú-Zéd, was severely stung by one. Accordingly, when the dhohor had passed by, the order was given for decamping, and we kept along the vale and ascended the eastern slope, when, on an entirely open ground almost bare of trees, we chose a place for our night's encampment. The Arabs here brought us a young ostrich which they had caught in the

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valley; and we had a long unprofitable conversation with them in endeavouring to obtain their goodwill.

Friday, October 17th. We started very early, for a long day's fatiguing ride; for, notwithstanding all the care I took of myself, I could not recover from my sickly state, and was extremely sensitive of fatigue. The country in the beginning of our march was less adorned with trees than usual; but it became more densely wooded after we had passed the vale called Asfúra. This hollow, of small extent, and inclosed all around by steep slopes, is provided with a great number of wells of excellent water; but its bottom, being in most parts stony, is almost bare of vegetation, with the exception of here and there a dúm-bush. While the men made a short halt for taking in a supply of water, I went a little in advance with Abd-Allah; but I soon found that he did not know the road at all, keeping far too much to the south, and I thought it wiser to return to our people, and march along with them.

The country here offers a great variety in its configuration; and, instead of an extensive level, as before, hill and dale succeed each other. Having passed several smaller concavities, we reached a more considerable valley, called Jená ú Shelúkko, which contained corn, or rather durra fields, but they were entirely destroyed by the elephants. Grain had also been cultivated at the foot of the slope; but it had failed entirely, on account of the scarcity of rain. There were no vestiges of human habitations.

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Our people had begun to make themselves comfortable in this fine valley for passing the heat of the day, when suddenly orders were given for continuing our march. The country now became more hilly. Having passed *en route* a hollow provided with wells and called Aghó, once one of the most famous places of Kánem, we made, after noon, a short halt in the flat dell called Núndul, in which are several kháttatír, or draw-wells, and stubble-fields, in order to provide ourselves with water, and also to water our horses. There was a great bustle and confusion, everybody wanting to get first to the wells, and proceed with the principal troop, as we were now approaching a hostile territory. My she-camel, which was a very fine little animal, but rather too heavily laden for such an expedition, was among the last that arrived; and, starting after the others, was soon left behind the whole troop; and I endeavoured in vain to bring her up.

The country here was more level than it had been in the latter part of our route; and we left on our right only one vale, which is called Maínasa. Fortunately for me, the whole host made a longer halt at two o'clock in the afternoon, in one long line, in order to exhort the little band to valour, and to give them some instructions in case of a conflict with the enemy. No quarter was to be given, and any one of them who should lose his horse or camel was to be indemnified for the loss. But a great deal was proclaimed besides, which, as I was at the very end of

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the line, I could not make out. Two horsemen were galloping along the line and brandishing white banners, such as I had not observed before. There was a good deal of parade in the whole scene; and at the end of it several small troops of horsemen galloped out in advance of the line as "imán," that is to say, as bound by an oath either to be victorious or to die.

At length we pursued our course, the line breaking up into small irregular detachments, as chance or attachment grouped the people together; but we soon came to another halt, and much conversation ensued, in consequence of which, three of the Fugábú horsemen were dispatched to the south, to bring up an experienced guide. Having at length resumed our march through a fine undulating and well-wooded country, we chose about sunset an open place for our encampment, where we were told we should rest till the moon had risen. Strict orders were given not to light a fire, in order that the enemy might not become aware of our approach. But as soon as it became dark, very large fires were seen to the south-east, forming one magnificent line of flame; and as it was clear that these were not common fires for domestic use, but appeared rather to be beacons, it was conjectured that the enemy had tidings of our coming, and were calling together their people. An order was therefore immediately given to proceed; but scarcely were the loads put upon the camels, and everything ready for the march, when a counter-order was received, that we were to remain. We then began to make our-

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selves comfortable, when a third order was given to load immediately and to pursue the march.

This ordering and countermanding seemed to arise rather from the bad organization of a band subject to no strict authority, but where every man of any experience and a little valour had something to say, than with the intention of misleading a lurking spy; but, whatever the cause, it was rather trying, and my two men, Bu-Zéd and A'hmed, neither of whom was very energetic, could scarcely be persuaded to load a second time, while all the people were getting ready with great expedition, and marched off as soon as they were ready. We therefore remained behind from the beginning. Unfortunately the load was so badly adjusted that several things soon fell down and had to be replaced; and this happening more than once, the distance between us and the host became so great, that at last not even the slightest noise could be heard of the troop before us to direct our course; but having once noticed the direction by the stars, I was able to guide my servants. To make matters worse, the ground was covered with high grass, and it was not easy to proceed at a rapid rate. Trees were very scanty here.

At length the Arabs became aware of my having been left at a great distance behind, and about midnight made a halt, when I overtook them. After having lightened my camel, we proceeded with expedition through the dark night, illuminated only by the distant fires, which gave a painful idea of

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the resistance we were to meet with, till after two o'clock in the morning of the 18th, when we reached a rising ground, and, dismounting, lay down near our wearied horses to get an hour's rest.

We then continued our march with great alacrity for an hour, when we came to a halt on undulating sandy ground thickly covered with bushes. The horsemen galloped on in advance, while Overweg and I remained with the train, consisting of from sixty to seventy camels mounted by young men, and boys not more than ten years old, who were looking forward with such avidity for prey that they could scarcely be kept back. At length we began to proceed slowly, but soon came to another halt, as till now we had not heard a single shot; but when the day dawned, the greedy multitude could not be kept back any longer, and on we went.

We here obtained a faint view of an irregular valley-formation ahead of us, adorned with a few palm-trees, which, in the dubious light of the dawn, gave to the country an interesting and entirely new appearance. Crossing this valley-plain, we gradually ascended higher ground, and reached a small deserted village, consisting of large spacious huts. But though we turned off from it to the north, in order to prevent our little troop from dispersing to make booty, the best-mounted and most daring of them started off on their light mehára to see if something might not have been left to suit them.

Some little cultivation was to be seen around the

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village; but in general the country continued to bear the most evident traces of desolation. At length its dreary aspect became relieved, and we descended into a regularly formed valley called Gésgi, about 500 yards broad, and inclosed between high cliffs of sandstone. This was the first regular valley-formation which we saw on our journey to Kánem; for as yet all depressions in the ground presented rather the character of hollows without a regular shelving or sloping in any direction. This valley, on the contrary, extending from north to south, was apparently the occasional channel of a small torrent, and, on account of the moisture extending over the whole of it, was adorned with several groups of palm-trees, and in several places with corn-fields.

But while this valley presented great attraction to the European traveller, it was not less attractive to the covetous Arab freebooter; and all order ceasing in our little troop, the young inexperienced lads who composed our *cortége* dispersed in all directions. Some small flocks of sheep had been observed in the valley; and they were now pursued by part of our companions, while others ransacked the huts of a small hamlet situated on the western brow of the vale. It was very fortunate for us that no natives were lurking hereabouts, as they might have done immense mischief to our troop, scattered as it was about the country. Overweg and I were almost left alone, when, after having looked about in vain for traces of the footsteps of the horsemen who had gone

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in advance, we ascended the eastern slope, which was extremely steep and very difficult for the camels. Gradually our companions, fearing to expose themselves by staying behind, collected around us, and we proceeded in a south-easterly direction, when we soon came to another and more favoured valley, called Hénderí Síggesí, its bottom adorned with a thicker grove of date-trees and with beautiful corn-fields — that is to say, fields of wheat with their golden stalks waving in the wind — while the high ground, being elevated above the bottom of the valley about 120 feet, was planted near the brow with fields of millet, which was just ripe, but not yet reaped. What with the rich vegetation, the steep cliffs, the yellowish crop, the burning hamlet, and the people endeavouring to make their escape, it formed a very interesting scene, which is represented in the accompanying view.

Keeping along the western brow, which in some places, where the rock lay bare, was extremely steep, we observed that several natives, including even two or three horsemen, had taken refuge in the thickest part of the date-grove, watching our motions. A small hamlet of straw huts of a peculiar shape, not unlike those of the Koyám described on a former occasion, and lying at the very brink of the steep rocky declivity, had been set on fire. Our wild, lawless companions now began to descend into the valley at a spot where the slope was more gradual, raising a war-cry in order to frighten those people who were hid in the grove. Five good horsemen would

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have sufficed to overthrow this whole troop of young unbearded lads, who were snapping their firelocks without being in general provided with balls. It was very lucky, indeed, that Overweg and I with our people kept well together in the foremost part of the train, for the natives, rushing suddenly out from their hiding place upon the stragglers, laid hold of two camels, with which they immediately made good their retreat, their young riders, who a moment before had shown such courage, having betimes jumped off their animals and run away. Our companions were now full of gesticulations and warlike threats; but nobody dared to attack the small body of men, and dispute with them their booty. We soon reached the level on the eastern side of the valley; but if we had hesitated before what course to pursue, we were now quite puzzled to find the whereabouts of the horsemen. Wandering thus up and down without any distinct direction, we of course, as it was not safe for us to dismount and take a moment's rest, suffered great fatigue, after a whole day and night's journey. Meanwhile the sun had almost reached the zenith, and I felt extremely weak and exhausted.

At length some of the horsemen were seen, at a great distance beyond a more shallow dell, driving before them a herd of cattle; and rescued at length from the dangerous position in which we had been, destitute as we were of any sufficient protection, we hastened to cross the valley, and to join our more warlike

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and experienced friends. Falling in with them, we went together to a place a little further down this wide flat valley, where there were a small hamlet and stubble fields. Here at length I hoped to get a little rest, and lay down in the scanty shade of a talha; but unfortunately there was no well here, and after a very short halt and a consultation, the order was given to proceed. I was scarcely able to mount my horse again and to follow the troop. The Arabs called this valley, which was very flat and produced no date-trees, Wádi el Ghazál, but what its real name is I did not learn; it has of course nothing to do with the celebrated and larger valley of this name. The well was not far off, in another fine valley, or rather hollow, deeper than Wádi el Ghazál but much flatter than either Síggesí or Gésgí, and called Msállat or Amsállat. It was adorned with a wild profusion of mimosa, and in its deepest part provided with "kháttatír" or draw-wells, irrigating a fine plantation of cotton, the first we had yet seen in Kánem.

The Arabs had not made a very considerable booty, the Woghda having received intelligence of their approach and saved what they could. The whole result of the expedition was fifteen camels, a little more than three hundred head of cattle, and about fifteen hundred sheep and goats. The Arabs were for some time in great anxiety about Ghét, and a party of horsemen who had gone with him to a greater distance; but he joined us here, driving before him a large flock

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of sheep. We were busy watering our horses, and providing ourselves with this necessary element. But there was not much leisure; for scarcely had we begun to draw water, when the alarm was given that the Woghda were attacking us, and three bodies of horsemen were formed in order to protect the train and the booty. The main body rushed out of the valley on the south-east side, and drove the enemy back to a considerable distance; but the intention of encamping on the slope near this well was given up as too dangerous, and it was decided to go to a greater distance, though the intention of penetrating to Mâwó seemed not as yet entirely to be abandoned. It took us a considerable time to get out of this wooded valley, the Arabs being afraid of being attacked and losing their booty.

At length, the cattle and flocks having been driven in advance, we started, and, leaving the vale, ascended elevated rocky ground, from which, following a south-westerly direction, we descended, a little before two o'clock in the afternoon, into the narrower eastern part of a deep and beautiful valley, which here is adorned by a pretty grove of date-trees, while its western part expands into fine cultivated ground. Here we made a halt of about half an hour, in order to water the animals and replenish our skins; for not even here was it thought advisable to encamp, as it is regarded as a very inauspicious place, this being the spot where, in 1850, the Kél-owí fell upon the Welád Slimán and almost

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exterminated them. After so short a halt we again pursued our march. I was now so totally exhausted that I was obliged to dismount at short intervals and lie down for a moment; and once when left alone, it was only with the utmost exertion that I was able to mount my horse again; but nevertheless I managed to drag myself along. At length, about sunset, we chose a place for our encampment on the brow of the slope descending into a deep valley. Having now been thirty-four hours on horseback with only short and insufficient intervals, I fell senseless to the ground, and was considered by Mr. Overweg and our people as about to breathe my last. But after an hour's repose I recovered a little, and, having had a good night's rest, felt myself much stronger on the following morning, so that I could even undergo some exertion which was not exactly necessary.

Monday, Oct. 20th. Descended with our people into the valley when they went to fetch water. It is called A'láli A'dia, or Jerád, from a small hámlet lying on the highest ground, and called A'láli. The well was very rich and plentiful; but no traces of cultivation appeared at the foot of the date-trees. The slope was rather steep, and about 130 feet high. The Arabs, who had contracted their encampment or "dowar" within the smallest possible compass, barricading it with their baggage, as all the empty bags which they had taken with them on the expedition were now full of corn from the magazines of the enemy, were not at all at their ease, and seemed not to know exactly what

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course to take, whether to penetrate further in advance or to return. Several Fugábú and people belonging to Hallúf came to pay their respects to Sheikh Ghét; and a person of considerable authority, called Keghámma, or rather Keghámma-futébe (Seraskier of the West), the very man of whom we before had heard so much talk, came also and paid me a visit in my tent; for, being in a weak state, I had been obliged, when the sun became oppressive, to pitch my tent, as there was no shade. There being no other tent in the encampment, I received visits from several parties who wished to breakfast a little at their ease, and among others from a man called Kédel Batrám, Hallúf's brother. Keghámma stated that he was certainly able to bring us to Kárká; but this was a mere pretence, and he himself retracted his promise shortly afterwards before the sheikh. Our cherished object lay still before us, at a considerable distance; but our friend Ghét thought that he had brought us already far enough to deserve some more presents, and plainly intimated as much to us through 'Abd-Allah. Fortunately I had a handsome yellow cloth caftan with me, embroidered with gold, and towards evening, when I had recovered from a severe fit of fever which had suddenly attacked me in the afternoon, we went to pay our compliments to the chief, and begged him to accept of it; at the same time we told him we should be satisfied if we were enabled to visit the district belonging to the keghámma. But the situation of the Arabs soon became more dangerous, and nothing was

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thought of but to retrace our steps westward with the greatest possible expedition.

I was lying sleepless in my tent, in a rather weak state, having scarcely tasted any kind of food for the last few days on account of my feverish state, when, in the latter part of the night, a great alarm was raised in the camp, and I heard the Arabs mount their horses and ride about in several detachments, raising their usual war-cry, "yá riyáb, yá riyáb;" but I remained quietly on my mat, and was not even roused from my lethargical state when I received the intelligence that a numerous hostile army, consisting of the Woghda, the Médelé, the Shíri, and the people of the Eastern Keghámma, was advancing against the camp. I received this news with that indifference with which a sick and exhausted man regards even the most important events. Neither did I stir when, with the first dawn of day on the 21st, the enemy having actually arrived within a short distance, our friends left the camp in order to offer battle. I heard about ten shots fired, but did not think that the Arabs would be beaten. Suddenly Overweg, who had saddled his horse at the very beginning of the alarm, called out anxiously to me that our friends were defeated, and, mounting his horse, started off at a gallop. My mounted servant, Bú Zéd, had long taken to his heels; and thus, while Mohammed was hastily saddling my horse, I flung my bernús over me, and grasping my pistols and gun, and throwing my double sack over the saddle, I mounted and started off towards the west, ordering Mohammed to cling fast

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to my horse's tail. It was the very last moment, for at the same time the enemy began to attack the east side of the camp. All the people had fled, and I saw only the chief slave of Ghét, who, with great anxiety, entreated me to take his master's state sword with me, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

But I had not gone a great distance when I heard firing close behind me, and, turning round, saw the Arab horsemen rallying, and with the cry, "He keléb, keléb," turn round against the enemy, who had dispersed in order to collect the spoil. I went on in order to inform Mr. Overweg, who, together with the Arabs who were mounted on camels, and even several horsemen, had fled to some distance and posted themselves on a hill. Assuring him that the danger was over, I returned with him to the camp, where we were rather surprised to find that not only all our luggage was gone, but that not even a vestige of my tent was left.

The enemy, attracted only by the English tent and Sheikh Ghét's baggage, had scarcely touched the effects of the other people, but considered my tent as a fair prize and ran away with it. But the Arabs pursuing them, we got back most of our things. A leathern English bag of mine which contained some articles of value had been cut open, just, as it seemed, at the moment when our friends came up with the enemy. Our chief loss consisted in our cooking utensils and provisions; I also much regretted the loss of an English prayer-book, which had belonged

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to Mr. Richardson. Four of the Arabs had been killed, and thirty-four of the enemy. Mr. Overweg was busily employed in dressing some severe wounds inflicted on our friends. The Arabs were furious at the insolence, as they called it, of the enemy who had dared to attack them in their own encampment, and they swore they would now go and burn down all their hamlets and their corn. The horsemen actually left, but returned in the course of the afternoon rather silently, with a sullen face and unfavourable tidings; and before sunset they were once more obliged to defend their own encampment against another attack of the energetic natives; they, however, succeeded in beating them off. Hallúf distinguished himself greatly by his valour, killing three or four of the enemy with his own hand.

But notwithstanding this little victory, the forebodings for the night were very unfavourable, and our friends would certainly have decamped immediately if they had not been afraid that in the darkness of the night the greater part might take to their heels, and that a shameful flight would be followed by great loss of life and property. Accordingly they determined to remain till the next morning. But an anxious and restless night it was; for they had received authentic news that a body of from thirty to forty Wadáy horsemen were to join their enemies that night and to make a joint and last attack upon them; and they were well aware that the enemy had only been beaten from want of horses. All the horses remained

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saddled, and the whole night they sounded the watch-cry; but the most restless was the renegade Jew Abd-Allah, who felt convinced that this would be his last night, and was most anxious to get a razor in order to shave his head before the hour of death.

The night passed on without the enemy appearing, and with the dawn of day the sign for decamping was given, when everybody endeavoured to get in advance of his neighbour. The enemy, as was positively stated afterwards, arrived there about an hour later; but seeing that we were gone, did not choose to pursue us. October 22nd.

Thus we left the most interesting part of Kánem behind us, the country once so thickly studded with large populous and celebrated towns, such as Njímiye, Agháfi, and all those places which I shall describe in the Appendix from the account of the expeditions of Edrís Alawóma, with many rich valleys full of date-trees.

Keeping first in a westerly, and afterwards in a more south-westerly direction, through a rather uninteresting country, we arrived about eight o'clock in the morning in a wide vale called Tákulum, full of rich succulent herbage and fine trees, where, it being supposed that we were out of danger, it was decided to give the horses and camels a feed after having watered them. I, for my part, was extremely thankful for getting a few hours' rest in the shade of a venerable acacia, near the gentle slope surrounding the hollow. But just in the greatest heat of the day

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we left this pleasant resting-place, near which is the ordinary residence of the keghámma, in the valley Kárafu, and followed a more north-westerly direction, ascending gradually from the vale, and entering a well-wooded district, where all the grass had recently been burnt, or was still burning; and in one place it was even with some danger that we found our way through the flames. This burning of the grass, as I have stated above, seems to be a general practice all over Negroland.

Towards evening the country became quite open, and ahead of us a small range was seen, at the western foot of which our resting-place was said to be; but it seemed very distant, and it was quite dark when we made halt in two separate encampments, not being able to reach the point of destination. Our supper was very simple indeed; for, having lost all our provisions at the taking of the camp at A'láli, we were obliged to content ourselves with a few bad dates, the only thing we were able to obtain from our friend Sheikh Ghét.

Thursday, October 23rd. While our camels and people kept along the direct road, together with the train and part of the horsemen, Overweg and I, following Sheikh Ghét and his troop, took a more northerly direction, and passed the heat of the day in a fine valley. It was certainly one of the finest vales we had seen in the country, except that it did not produce date-trees. But the district of Shitáti, which we again had entered here, seems not to be favourable for that

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tree, while Shíri and the neighbourhood of Máwó is very productive in date-trees. Part of the bottom was laid out in corn-fields, irrigated from Kháttatír, near which some huts were standing, while a larger village, at present deserted, is situated on the brow of the slope dominating the valley. It is called Burka-drússo, or Burka-drústo. Here we enjoyed a few hours of tranquil repose; but with the exception of this our enjoyment was very scanty, having nothing to breakfast upon but a handful of dates and some water. But our material wants were inconsiderable in comparison with the disappointment which we felt, as we clearly saw that all hope of reaching the Bahar el Ghazál, or even Máwó, was to be given up, and the hope of attaining those districts had been the only reason which had induced us to join our fate with this band of freebooters. We had spent all the property that remained to us to enable us to undertake this expedition, and our reflections therefore were far from pleasant.

When the heat of the day had passed by, the Arabs pursued their march, and we followed them, re-ascending the higher level and marching over a pleasant country well adorned with trees and bushes, while we left a hollow called Núkko on our left, one of the three vales of Shitáti which bear this name, and further on crossing another one called Arnáuko. When night approached, our companions began to put their horses into a gallop in order to arrive betimes, while we preferred going on more slowly.

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The country here became more undulating, and afterwards even rugged, and we made our way as well as we could in the dark, stumbling along over a rugged ground in a north-westerly direction, and were not a little delighted when at length we saw the fires of the encampment, which this time had not been pitched on the highest level, but rather in a hollow not far from the well. Its name is Bír el Hamésh, or Yégil, or, as it is generally pronounced, Yíggeli. We were the more delighted to reach it, as we found here, not only all our people and luggage, but also provisions, and we were nearly famished. Of course, we were most cheerfully hailed by those of our servants whom, with the remainder of the Arabs, we had left at the Bír el Kúrna, and who had felt the greatest anxiety about our safety, on account of the many unfavourable rumours which had reached them with regard to the proceedings and sufferings of our party. They had transported the camp from Bír el Kúrna to this place several days previously, and were looking forward to our return most anxiously.

We immediately attacked a bowl of camel's milk, and, thus materially comforted, rested outside our tents enjoying the freshness of the evening. The camp or dowar was rather narrow, being encumbered by the booty which had been taken from the enemy; and the people, dreading lest the enemy might follow them, all huddled closely together, and kept strict watch. In such circumstances the wailings of the women over the dead, which sounded through the

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night, accompanied by loud, mournful strokes on the great drum, could not fail to make a deep impression.

However, we passed here tranquilly the following day, and enjoyed rest and repose the more as the weather was very oppressive.

We received here the positive news that the body of Wadáy horsemen who had come to the assistance of the Woghda, and had caused the Arabs so much fear and anxiety the day before, had returned to Máwó; and a very curious story was told with regard to them, which at once shows how highly these horsemen of Wadáy are respected by the Arabs, and the esteem which they themselves entertain for the latter. Thirty Wadáy horsemen were said to have arrived with the Woghda in consequence of their entreaties, and to have followed with them the traces of our friends, the Woghda representing to them that many of the latter had been killed. Thus they arrived in the morning when we had just left the camp at Aʿláli, and the dust raised by our host was plainly visible in the distance; but when the Woghda instigated the Wadáy people to go and attack that host, they wanted to assure themselves how many of the Arabs had fallen in the last battle, in which thirty-four of the Woghda were said to have been slain, and when they found only two tombs, the latter told them that in each there were ten bodies; but the Wadáy people, being anxious to make sure of the valour of their friends, had the tombs dug up, and found only two buried in each. Whereupon they stigmatized the Woghda as liars, and felt little inclined to follow the

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valiant robbers who had killed so many of the enemy, while they had lost so few of their own. But this story may have been adorned by our friends the Welád Slimán, who could not even deny that, besides a great deal of other booty from their own camp, which the enemy had succeeded in carrying away, the chief of the Woghda could pride himself on the red bernús which we had given as a present to Sheikh Ghét; nay, he could even boast of four horses taken from the Arabs.

Sunday, October 26th. This and the following day the Arabs were all busy in writing, or getting letters written, to Kúkawa, as a courier was to leave. I myself was almost the only person who did not get a note ready; for I could not muster sufficient energy to write a letter. Had I been strong enough, I should have had sufficient leisure to make up the whole journal of my excursion to the eastern parts of Kánem; but I was quite unable, and the consequence was, that this part of my diary always remained in a very rough state. Sheikh Ghét, who thought that we were greatly indebted to him for having seen so much of the country, sent for a variety of things; but we were only able to comply with very few of his wishes. On our telling him that we were not at all satisfied with what we had seen, and that, in order not to waste more time, we had the strongest wish to return to Kúkawa as soon as possible, he wanted to persuade us that he himself was to leave for the capital of Bórnu in five or six days. But

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we prudently chose to provide for ourselves, and not rely upon his promise.

The courier for Kúkawa left in the morning, and in the evening a party of free-booters made an attack upon the camels of the Arabs, but, being pursued by the horsemen, whose great merit it is to be ready for every emergency, they were obliged to leave their booty, and be contented to escape with their lives. The vale in which the well is situated is rather more exuberant than is the case generally, and there were several pools of stagnant water, from which the cattle were watered. There was even a real jungle, and here and there the den of a ferocious lion, who did not fail to levy his tribute on the various species of animal property of our friends, and evinced rather a fancy for giving some little variety to his meals; for a horse, a camel, and a bullock became his prey. Monday, October 27th.

Seeing that there was a caravan of people forming to go to Kúkawa, while the Arabs intended once more to return to Burka-drússo, we at once went to the chief to inform him that we had made up our minds to go with the caravan. A chief of the Haddáda, or rather Búngo, arrived with offerings of peace on the part of the Shíri, and came to see us, together with the chief mentioned above, Kédl Batrám, who was the father-in-law of the khalífa of Máwó; Kóbber, or rather the head man of the Kóbber, and other great men of the Fugábú; and I amused them with my musical box. Overweg and I, dis- Tuesday, October 28th.

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appointed in our expectations of penetrating further eastward, prepared for our return journey, and I bought a small skin of tolerable dates for half a túrkedí; while to 'Abd-Allah, who had been our mediator with the chief, I made a present of a jeríd, in order not to remain his debtor.

All this time I felt very unwell, which I attribute principally to the great changes of atmosphere, the nights being cool and the days very warm.

Friday, October 31st. Though we were determined to return to Kúkawa, we had yet once more to go eastward. The Arabs removed their encampment to Arnánko, the hollow which we passed on our way from Burka-drússo to Yégil. There had been a great deal of uncertainty and dispute amongst them with reference to the place which they were to choose for their encampment; but though, on the following day, very unfavourable news was brought with regard to the security of the road to Bórnu, the departure of the caravan nevertheless remained fixed for the 2nd November; for in the morning one of the Welád Slimán arrived from Kúkawa, accompanied by two Bórnu horsemen, bringing letters from the vizier, requesting the Arabs, in the most urgent terms, to remove their encampment without delay to Késkawa, on the shore of the lake, whither he would not fail to send the whole remainder of their tribe who at that time were residing in Kúkawa; for he had positive news, he assured them, that the Tawárek were meditating another expedition against them on a large scale.

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The report seemed not without foundation; for the three messengers had actually met, on their road between Bárrowa and Ngégimi, a party of ten Tawárek, three on foot, and the rest on horseback, and had only escaped by retreating into the swamps formed by the lake. This news, of course, spread considerable anxiety amongst the Arabs, who were still more harassed the same day by information received to the effect that a party of fifteen Wadáy horsemen were lying in ambush in a neighbouring valley; and a body of horsemen were accordingly sent out to scour the country, but returned without having seen anybody.

The day of our departure from Kánem at length arrived. Sorry as we were to leave the eastern shore of the lake unexplored, we convinced ourselves that the character of our mission did not allow us to risk our fate any longer by accompanying these freebooters.* The camels we had taken

Sunday, November 2nd.

* The information which, in the weak and exhausted state I was then reduced to, and under the unfavourable circumstances in which I was placed as an hostile intruder, I was able to collect with regard to this country, once the mighty and populous kingdom of Kánem, and now reduced to the desolate abode of the scanty remnants of the former native population preyed upon every day by roving and lawless tribes from different quarters, I shall put together in an Appendix (I.) at the end of this volume, as well as the interesting geographical details with regard to Kánem in its flourishing state, as they are to be gleaned from the historical work of Imám Ahmed (Appendix II.). The dates of the earlier history of Kánem, as far as they have come to our knowledge, have been detailed in a former chapter, Vol. II.

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with us on this expedition were so worn out that they were unable to carry even the little luggage we had left, and Sheikh Ghét made us a present of two camels, which, however, only proved sufficient for the short journey to Kúkawa; for the one fell a few paces from the northern gate on reaching the town, and the other a short distance from the southern gate on leaving it again on our expedition to Músgu.

The caravan with which we were to proceed was numerous; but the whole of the people were Kánembú, who carried their little luggage on pack-oxen and a few camels, while, besides ourselves, there were only two horsemen. But there were some respectable people among them, and even some women richly adorned with beads, and, with their fine regular features and slender forms, forming a strong contrast to the ugly physiognomy and square forms of the Bórnu females. The difference between the Bórnu and Kánembú is remarkable, although it is difficult to account for by historical deduction.

We were so fortunate as to perform our home-journey without any serious accident, although we had some slight alarms. The first of these occurred when we approached the town of Berí and found all the inhabitants drawn up in battle-array, at a narrow passage some distance from the town; and at the first moment there was considerable alarm on both sides: but we soon learned that they had taken us for Tawárek, of whom a numerous freebooting party, consisting

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of 200 camels and about as many horses, had a short time previously carried away all the cattle belonging to the place. The state of the country was so insecure that the inhabitants would not allow Mr. Overweg to stay here, notwithstanding his earnest protestations, so that he was obliged to make up his mind to proceed with the caravan, although he was sensible of the danger connected with such an undertaking; and certainly, if we had met with a tolerably strong party of the Tawárek, our companions would have afforded us very little protection. We were so fortunate, however, as to pass through this infested track just at the time when an expedition, laden with booty, had returned homewards.

We, however, met more than forty Búdduma half a day's journey beyond Ngégimi, armed with spears and shields, and clad in nothing but their leather apron. They had been occupied in preparing salt from the roots of the siwák or *Capparis sodata;* and when they saw the first part of our caravan coming through the thick forest, they commenced an attack, so that Overweg and I were obliged to fire a few random shots over their heads, when, seeing that we were stronger than they had supposed, and recognizing some friends among the Kánembú, they allowed us to pass unmolested. But our whole march from Ngégimi to Bárrowa, through the thick underwood with which the shores of the lake are here overgrown, resembled rather a flight than anything else.

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On the 10th we reached the komádugu; and after some lively negotiation with the governor or shitíma, who resides in the town of Yó, I and my companion were allowed to cross the river the same afternoon: for it has become the custom with the rulers of Bórnu to use the river as a sort of political quarantine, a proceeding which of course they can only adopt as long as the river is full. During the greater part of the year everybody can pass at pleasure. Even after we had crossed, we were not allowed to continue our journey to the capital, before the messenger, who had been sent there to announce our arrival, had returned with the express permission that we might go on. The shores round the kómadugu were greatly changed, the river being now at its highest. Extensive patches were cultivated with wheat, being regularly laid out in small quadrangular beds of from four to five feet in diameter, which were watered morning and evening from the river by means of buckets and channels.

We reached Kúkawa on the 14th, having met on the road a party of about fifty Welád Slimán, who were proceeding to join their companions in Kánem. We were well received by our host, the vizier of Bórnu.

We had already heard from the governor of Yó, that the sheikh and his vizier were about to leave in a few days on an expedition; and, being desirous of employing every means of becoming acquainted with new regions of this continent, we could not but

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avail ourselves of this opportunity, however difficult it was for us, owing to our entire want of means, to make the necessary preparations for another campaign, and although the destination of the expedition was not quite certain.

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CHAP. XLII.

WARLIKE PREPARATIONS AGAINST MÁNDARÁ.

November 25th, 1851. TEN days after having returned to our head-quarters, from the wearisome journey to Kánem, I left Kúkawa again, in order to join a new warlike expedition.

The sheikh and his vizier, with the chief part of the army, had set out already, the previous Saturday. The route had not yet been determined upon — it was, at least, not generally known; but Wándalá, or as the Kanúri call it, Mándará was mentioned as the direct object of the march, in order to enforce obedience from the prince of that small country, who, protected by its mountains, had behaved in a refractory manner. The chief motive of the enterprise, however, consisted in the circumstance of the coffers and slave-rooms of the great men being empty; and, a new supply being wanted, from whence to obtain it was a question of minor importance. There was just then much talk about a final rupture between 'Abd e' Rahmán and the vizier, the former having intimate relations with the prince of Mándará; and it was for that reason that Mr. Overweg had at first thought it better to remain behind.

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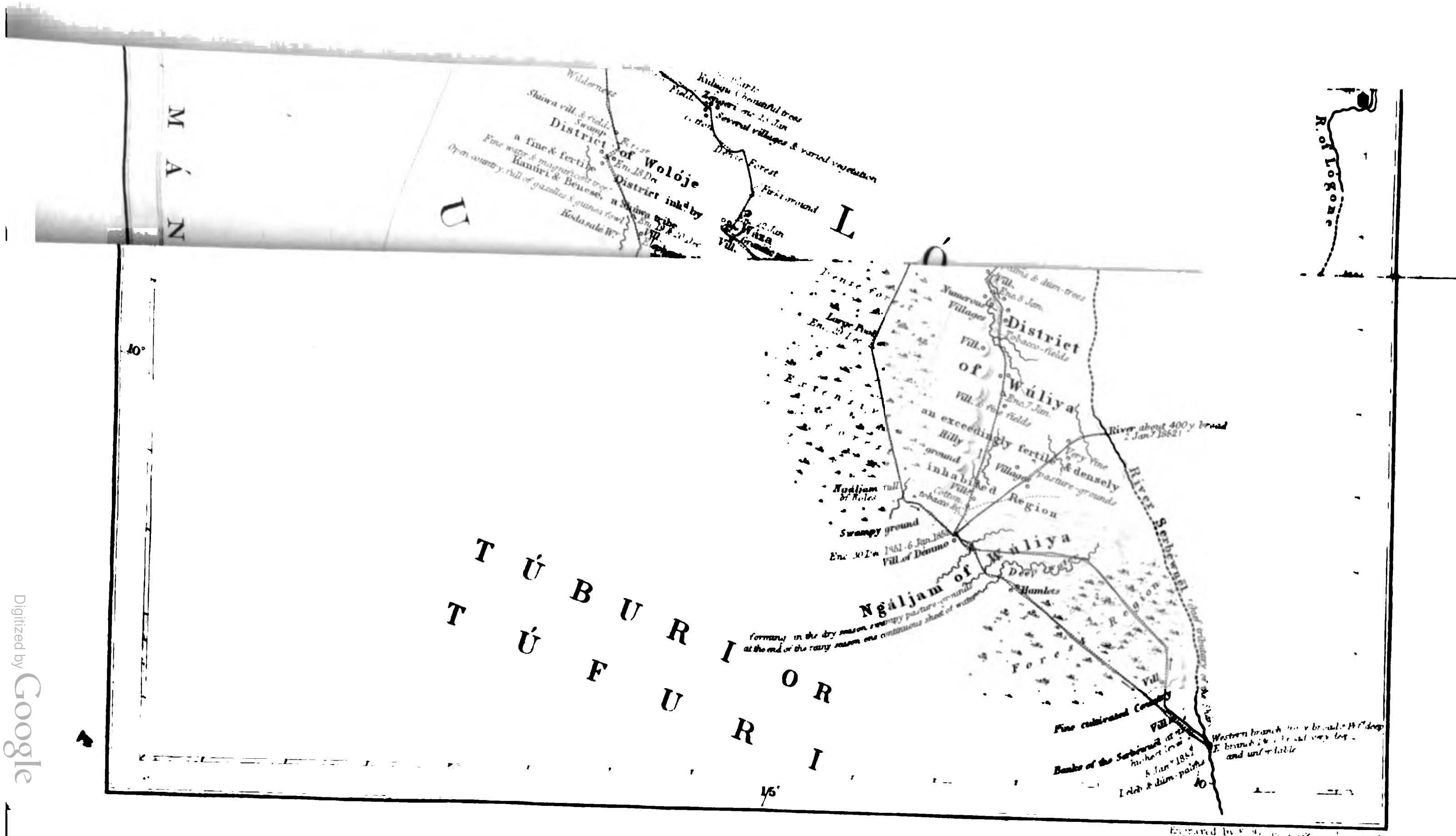
R. of Logone
District of Wolóje
District inhd by a Shúwa tribe
a fine & fertile
Kaniiri & Beuese
Wilderness
Several villages & varied vegetation
Dense Forest
Firm ground
Wúza
L
Ó
U
M
Á
N
District
of
Wúliya
Numerous Villages
Tobacco-fields
an exceedingly fertile & densely inhabited Region
Hilly ground
Villages
pasture-grounds
River about 400 y. broad
River Serbéwuel
chief tributary of the Shary
Extensive Forest
Dense Forest
Large Pond
Swampy ground
Vill. of Dénnno
Ngáljam of Wúliya
forming in the dry season swampy pasture-grounds
at the end of the rainy season one continuous sheet of water
Deep
Hamlets
Forest Region
Fine cultivated Country
Banks of the Serbéwuel
Western branch
TÚBURI OR
TÚFURI
10°
15°
10

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My means were scanty in the extreme, and did not allow me to have a mounted servant, my camp-followers consisting merely of the same naga or "jíge," as the Kanúri call the female camel, which had proved of the highest value to me on the journey to Kánem, and of two very indifferent Fezzáni lads, weak in mind and body, — Mohammed ben Habíb and Mohammed ben Ahmed.

The weather being temperate, and my spirits excellent, I followed cheerfully the Ngórnu road, with which I was well acquainted. The country looked much more interesting now than three months before, on my return from A'damáwa. Then all was dry and barren, scarcely a single fresh blade had started from the ground, and I was obliged to draw with immense exertion my supply of water from a deep well near Kaine ; now the ground was covered with young herbs, the trees were in foliage, and, near the very place of Kaine where the sheikh with his camp-followers had rested the first night, a large lake had been formed by the rains. This lake, which is surrounded by shady trees, retains its water until two or three months after the rainy season, when its begins gradually to dry up. I was therefore enabled to water my horse without any further trouble, after which I followed my people, who were in advance. Here I met with my friend Háj Edrís and Shitíma Makarémma, who were just returning from the camp. They told me that the sheikh had encamped that day at Kúkia, beyond

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Ngórnu. I therefore made a short halt at noon on this side of that town, in order to reach the camp during the evening without staying in the place; for the city, on all sides, at about an hour's distance, is almost entirely surrounded by fields devoid of trees. After I had enjoyed about an hour's rest, Overweg arrived with the disagreeable tidings that his camel, soon after leaving the gate, had fallen, and was unable to get up again even after the luggage had been removed. He therefore sent his servant Ibrahím in advance, in order to procure another camel from the vizier, while he remained with me. When we set out again we took the direct route to the camp, the road being enlivened by horsemen, camels, and pedestrians. The country on this side was only cultivated in some places; we perceived, however, two miles behind Ngórnu a carefully-kept cotton-plantation, and the fields near the village of Kúkia were well cultivated.

The whole of this fertile plain became a prey to the inundations of the Tsád in the year 1854, caused by a sinking of the ground, when the whole country was changed in the most marvellous way. Here we obtained a first view of the camp with its tents; but it made no remarkable impression upon me, being still in an unfinished state, including only those people who were in the most intimate connection with the court.

The "ngáufate" having its fixed arrangements, our place was assigned near the tents of Lamíno, at some

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distance east from those of Háj Beshír. As the greater part of the courtiers were taking at least a portion of their harím with them to the "kerígu," a simple tent was not sufficient for them; but by means of curtains made of striped cotton-stuff, a certain space is encompassed in order to insure greater privacy. For the sheikh and the vizier, as long as we remained in the Bórnu territories, at every new encampment an inclosure of matting was erected; for it is not the custom, as has been asserted, to separate the royal camp from that of the rest, at least not on expeditions into a hostile country, nor has it been so in former times. The common soldiers had no further protection, except some light and small huts with high gables, which some of them had built with the tall stalks of the Indian corn, which lay in great abundance on the stubble-fields.

But I shall first say a few words about our friend Lamíno, whom I have already occasionally mentioned, and with whom on this expedition we came into closer contact. This man furnishes an example how in this country, notwithstanding the immense difference of civilization, in reality matters take the same course as in Europe, where notorious rogues and sharpers often become the best police-functionaries. Lamíno, originally "El Amín," had formerly been a much-dreaded highway-robber, but had now become *chef de police*, or, as the Háussa people would say, "serkí-n-karfi," being, in consequence of his hard-heartedness and total want of the gentler feelings, of the greatest

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importance to the vizier, whose mild character did not allow him personally to adopt severe measures. Imprisoning people and ordering them to be whipped constituted one of Lamíno's chief pleasures. He could, however, at times be very gentle and amiable; and there was nothing which afforded greater amusement to my companion and me than to hear him talk in the most sentimental manner of the favourite object of his affections, a woman whom he carried with him on this expedition. It caused us also great delight to witness the terror he felt at our comparing the shape of the earth to an ostrich's egg; for he seemed to be quite at a loss to understand how he should be able to preserve his balance on such a globe, with his great heaviness and clumsiness.

Wednesday, November 26th. Early in the morning the signal for the decampment of the army was given in front of the tent of the sheikh, by the sound of the great drum; and in broad battle-array ("báta") the army with its host of cavalry moved onwards over the plain, which was covered with tall reeds, and showed only here and there a few signs of cultivation.

This time I still remained with the camels and the train-oxen, which, mixed with pedestrians and some single horsemen in long unbounded lines, kept along the road, while single troops of Kánembú spearmen, in their light fanciful garments, mostly consisting of a small apron of rags, or a hide tied round the loins, and armed with their light wooden shields, passed the luggage-train, shouting out in

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their wild native manner. Thus, after a march of about eleven miles, we reached the cotton-fields of Yédi, a town of considerable magnitude, surrounded by a clay wall in a state of good repair. We passed it on a rising ground to our left, while the country on the north-western side spread out in one continuous sandy plain, dotted here and there by a few dúm-bushes (ngílle) and by a few single dúm-palms. On this side of the town, at about a quarter of an hour's distance, after the autumnal rains, a large pond is formed, on the borders of which gardens of onions are planted by the inhabitants of Yédi, and irrigated with the aid of khattatír.

The sun was intensely hot; and the heat at noon was very great. Strange to say, during all this time I neglected to make thermometrical observations; and as far as I am aware Overweg did not pay more attention to this subject than myself: but the reason of this neglect was, that we usually started early in the morning, and seldom had shade in the neighbourhood of our tents at noon; for these, which by this time were so much worn that every object inside cast a shadow as well as outside, could give us, of course, no measure for the temperature of the air.

Our protector Lamíno afterwards sent us an excellent dish of rice boiled in milk and covered with bread and honey. The rice was of a whiteness unusual in this country. Having received likewise a dish of bread and honey from the vizier, we thought it our duty to pay him a visit, and through his me-

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diation to the sheikh also. The sheikh had alighted at his spacious clay mansion outside the walls of the city; and he was just occupied with granting a grand reception to the townspeople.

After the usual exchange of compliments, our discourse turned upon Captain Denham (Ráis Khalíl), who had once taken the same road in conjunction with Kashélla Bárka Ghaná, and with Bú-Khalúm. On this occasion also the manner in which old M'allem Shádeli or Chádeli, then a simple fáki, who was present, behaved towards that Christian was mentioned. We related to them what a faithful description Major Denham had given, in the narrative of his adventures, of the hostile disposition of the fáki, when the old mallem, who was now one of the grandees of the empire, in order to revenge himself upon Major Denham and ourselves, described to the assembly, with sundry sarcastic hints, how he had seen the Major, after his shameful defeat at Musfáya, half dead and stripped of his clothes, and exhibiting to uninitiated eyes all the insignia which mark the difference between the faithful and unfaithful. The whole spirit in which the story was told bore evidence of the enlightened character and the tolerance of these gentlemen.

All the people behaved very friendly; and the sheikh sent us in the evening two sheep, a load of "ngáberí" or sorghum, besides two dishes of prepared food. We were also entertained by a young musician, who had accompanied Mr. Overweg during

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his voyage on the Tsád; and in this way there was no end of feasting. Nor was there any want of intellectual food, the inquisitive and restless vizier being desirous of learning from us as much as possible on this expedition, where he enjoyed plenty of leisure. Here we remained also the following day, as some more detachments were to join the army.*

The ngáufate advanced as far as the town of Márte. Not far from Yédi there extends, in a southerly direction, a very expansive plain devoid of any sort of vegetation except some mimosas. This is the beginning of the "fírki" ground, which comprises so large a space in the southern regions of Bórnu, and of which I have repeatedly spoken on former occasions; but the plantation of the *Holcus cernuus*, called "másakwá" or "mósogá" (which is limited to this peculiar territory), had not turned out well this year, in consequence of the scarcity of rain. Friday, November 28th.

I had marched in advance with my camel, when the vizier got sight of me, and begged me to come to the sheikh. After having saluted me in the most friendly way, he asked me why I always wore my pistols in my belt round the waist, instead of fixing them at the saddle-bow; but he praised my foresight when I appealed to the example of Ráis Khalíl, who, when thrown from his horse, on his unlucky

* Between Yédi and the Tsád, the following places are situated—Léga, a considerable town surrounded by a wall; Díbbuwa, Jíggeri, Manawáze, Górdiná, and Mógolám.

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expedition to Mándará, remained without a weapon in his hand. However, he was of opinion that at present, with such a large army, no danger of this kind was to be feared. He showed me also, in the most flattering manner, that he had imitated my example of having my chronometer continually girded around my waist; and he assured me that he found it very convenient.

The troop was here proceeding in stately order, and a broad line of battle deployed, one officer, with the title of jérma, riding in advance, and being followed by the four fan-bearers of the sheikh, in full array; but a little further on, a small tract of underwood compelled them to change their order of march, and proceed in one long line. The vizier was kind enough to send me a message to the effect that I had better get in front, so as not to be in the midst of the confusion.

The place of encampment was chosen on the north-west side of the town of Márte; and when the sheikh had dismounted, in order to take possession of the mat house which had been prepared for him, the whole host of cavalry galloped up in the fiercest manner, before I was able to get out of their way, so that I received a very severe shock from a horseman, who struck against me with great violence.

In the afternoon my friend and companion on my journey to A'damáwa, Kashélla Bíllama, called on me; and we mounted on horseback, in order to pay a visit to the market, which is held every Friday outside the

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western gate of the town, where an open area surrounded by several wells spreads out. But the market, at least that day, was very insignificant: it was not furnished with a single shed or stall, and not a single article of manufacture was exposed, Negro millet, butter, and wooden bowls being almost the only articles offered for sale; and sellers, as well as buyers, were very few in number. The town contains about four thousand inhabitants, and, taking into account the strategetical art of this country, possesses proper defences, the clay wall being in a good state of repair, and having a gate on each side excepting the side of the market, where there are two. Towards the east there is a little cultivated ground, and on the north a small suburb, consisting of large, conical, thatched huts, where, besides Kanúri, several Fúlbe or Felláta families are living. The interior of the town consists of narrow lanes; and most of the houses are clay buildings. There was nothing interesting to be seen; but I was agreeably surprised when my companion, who was a native of this place, took me to pay my compliments to his mother, who kept a small shed, or rather, as we should say, a shop, in the little market-place inside the town. It was certainly a trait of a good-natured and friendly disposition.

We remained here the following day; but our stay was not at all pleasant, there being very little shade near the encampment, while our tents were so worn that they scarcely afforded any protection against the

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sun. Owing to the smallness of my means, I had been obliged to leave my large tent in Kúkawa.

Sunday, Nov. 30th. The following morning I was obliged to remain behind the army a considerable time, in order to allow the air to acquire a more genial temperature. I enjoyed the more the beautiful morning, although the country did not possess many attractions. Here, also, it exhibited that black boggy soil, called "fírki," which is peculiar to the southern parts of Bórnu, though near the village of Little Márte, or "Márte ghaná," some slight variation was seen, in a crop of Indian corn or "holcus" still standing in the fields; the ears, however, were quickly plucked off by the undisciplined army. Further on I reached a group of villages ornamented by a cluster of beautiful tamarind-trees, and here lay down awhile to enjoy the delicious shade. Numbers of people were resting here and there, in order to partake of the hospitality of the villagers; for, to the ruin of the country there is no commissariat in these armies to provide for the wants of the private individual, and every one must supply himself with food in the best manner he can.

Our march, however, was very short, the encampment having been chosen on the west side of the town of Alá. This town also is of some importance, and surrounded by a wall in good repair, with two gates on the north and west sides and only one on the south and east. The interior is enlivened by large trees, consisting of chédia (elastic gum), and kúrna

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trees, while the huts are remarkable for their high conical roof, the thatch of which, in a great many instances, is interlaced by the clasps of the *Cucurbita lagenaria*, the whole looking very cheerful. The sheikh having requested me repeatedly to give my compass up to him, as he imagined it would be sufficient for one of us to possess such an instrument, I thought it prudent to offer him my musical box as a present, remarking that I would willingly give away such articles, but not scientific instruments. Several hares had been caught in the course of the day; and in the evening we had some of them very palatably dressed by the experienced female slave of Lamíno.

Soon after starting, early in the morning we had to traverse some underwood, which caused a great rush and much confusion among the undisciplined army, so that two or three horsemen were seriously injured. On such occasions, as well as in the thick covert of the forest, I had a full opportunity of testing the valuable properties of the Arab stirrups, which protect the whole leg, and, if skilfully managed, keep every obtruder at a respectful distance; indeed I am almost sure that if, on these my African wanderings, I had made use of English stirrups I should have lost both my legs. Our way afterwards led over monotonous fírki ground, where we were cheered by the sight of some fine crops of sorghum. Detached hamlets were seen in every direction, even where the country did not present any traces of cultivation; but, with the exception of the Shúwa villages, this

Monday, December 1st.

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province does not contain many small hamlets, the population being concentrated in larger places. Underwood succeeded to the fírki ground, and extended to the very walls of the large town of Díkowa.

The sight of this town, with its walls overtowered by the regularly-shaped crowns of magnificent fig trees, was very imposing. The western wall, along which our road lay, was covered with women and children, and we met a numerous procession of females in their best attire, who were going to salute their sovereign upon his arrival at the encampment; and coming from the capital, which is distinguished by the ugliness of its female inhabitants, I was agreeably surprised at their superior countenance and figure. But though the observer might be gratified with the personal appearance of the natives, their industry was questionable; for only a small tract of cultivated ground was to be seen on this side of the town, girt by a forest of mighty trees.

The encampment, or "ngáufate," began to form close to the southern wall of the town, amidst sandy ground free from trees, and completely surrounded by a thick covert. Although it was December, the sun was very powerful; and, until the camels arrived, I sat down in the shade of a "bíto" or *Balanites*, while the encampment was spreading out in all directions, and approached the edge of the covert. I then gave up my shady place to Kashélla Játo, an officer of the musketeers, who, in acknowledgment,

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offered me a clear piece of delicious gum, just taken from the tree and full of sweet fluid; in which state it is certainly a delicacy, and is so esteemed here as well as in Western Negroland. The encampment springing up gradually from the ground, with its variety of light dwellings built only for the moment—the multifarious appearance of armed people—the numbers of horses of all colours, some of the most exquisite beauty—the uninterrupted train of beasts of burden, camels, and pack-oxen, laden with the tents, furniture, and provisions, and mounted by the wives and concubines of the different chiefs, well dressed and veiled,—altogether presented a most interesting picture; for now almost the whole host or "kebú," had collected, and twenty thousand men, with ten thousand horses, and at least as many beasts of burden, were no doubt assembled on this spot.

At length our two tents also were pitched, and we could make ourselves as comfortable as the scanty shade which they afforded allowed us.

In the evening, our conversation with the vizier turning upon the means which remained for Bórnu to attain once more to her former greatness, these devastating expeditions and slave-hunts fell under discussion; and I took the liberty to indicate, in opposition to such a system, the necessity of a well-established government, with a strong military force capable of extending their dominion. I also called the attention of the vizier to the point, that, as

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they could never rely upon the Turks, who might easily cut off all supplies of foreign merchandise, it was greatly to their interest to keep open to themselves that large river which passed a short distance to the south of their dominions, and which would enable them to supply themselves with every kind of European manufacture at a much cheaper rate than they were able to obtain them by the northern route. He did not hesitate to throw the whole blame upon the former sultans; but those poor men, when they possessed the dominion of the Kwána tribe, probably had no idea that the river which ran through their territory joined the sea; and even if they had, the relation between Islám and Christianity at that period was of so hostile a character, that, for the very reason that this stream might open to the Christians a more easy access to their country, they shunned any nearer connection with it as dangerous. However, under the present entirely altered state of affairs, there is no question that an energetic native chief, basing his power on a supply of European merchandise, as facilitated by the river Bénuwé, might easily dominate a great part of Central Africa; but energy is just the very thing these people are wanting in.

From this point of our discourse there was an easy transition to that of the abolition of slavery; and here my late lamented friend Mr. Overweg made a most eloquent speech on this important question. The vizier could not bring forward any other

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argument in his defence, than that the slave-trade furnished them with the means of buying muskets; and, lamentable as it is, this is certainly the correct view of the subject, for even on the west coast the slave-trade originated in the cupidity of the natives in purchasing the arms of Europeans. Such is the history of civilization! If the poor natives of Africa had never become acquainted with this destructive implement of European ingenuity, the slave-trade would never have reached those gigantic proportions which it has attained. For at first the natives of Africa wanted firearms as the surest means of securing their independence of, and superiority over, their neighbours; but in the further course of affairs, these instruments of destruction became necessary, because they enabled them to hunt down less favoured tribes, and, with a supply of slaves so obtained, to procure for themselves those luxuries of European civilization with which they had likewise become acquainted. This is the great debt which the European owes to the poor African, that, after having caused, or at least increased, this nefarious system on his first bringing the natives of those regions into contact with his state of civilization, which has had scarcely any but a demoralizing effect, he ought now also to make them acquainted with the beneficial effects of that state of society. Entering, therefore, into the views of our hosts, I told them that their country produced many other things which

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they might exchange for firearms, without being forced to lay waste the whole of the neighbouring countries, and to bring misery and distress upon so many thousands.

I informed them of the last negotiations of Her Britannic Majesty's messengers with the king of Dahomé, when our friend, listening with the greatest interest to the account of these noble endeavours of Her Majesty's government, which he could not but admire, declared, in the most distinct manner, that, if the British government were able to furnish them with a thousand muskets and four cannons, they would be willing to subscribe any obligatory article for abolishing the slave-trade in their country—of course not including, all at once, domestic slavery; for such a measure would scarcely be feasible in a country where all the relations of domestic life are based upon this system. But the abolition of the foreign slave-trade would be the beginning of a better system. However, I told them that, supposing Government were to entertain such a proposal, the first thing for them to do was to open themselves a road to the river Bénuwé, as it would be difficult, not only with respect to the state of the country to be traversed, but also on account of the suspicions of the Turks, to provide them with such a military store by way of the desert. But at present this whole question has been superseded; the vizier himself has succumbed, and his master, the sheikh 'Omár, although he has been fortunate enough once more to usurp the sovereign

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authority, seems scarcely sufficient to hold out any guarantee of the stability of his dynasty. Moreover, the slave-trade at present is, in fact, abolished on the north coast; and this circumstance must eventually exercise a great influence over the destinies of Bórnu, on account of its central situation, especially if at length a regular intercourse be established on the river Bénuwé.

It was our lot to remain here several days; for while the Kanúri people, who were expected to join the expedition, had already assembled in sufficient numbers, only a very small portion of the indigenous Arab or Shúwa population had as yet come up; for almost all of them live in the south-eastern parts of the country, where they have taken possession of the deserted seats of former tribes, which were annihilated or weakened in the relentless wars between Islamism and Paganism.

On the first day of our arrival, our encampment was very comfortable; but every day that we stayed here it became more confined, owing principally to the numerous cavalry of these Arab tribes, almost all of whom are mounted; and many a new-comer was seen hurrying about without being able to find a spot to lie down, or to meet with friends to treat him. I myself had to entertain a respectable man among these Shúwa, of the name of Háj Hamadán, belonging to the tribe of the Hasúnna.

This man, who generally had his settlement far to the east, in the Wádi Guskáb, had come some time

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previously to Logón in order to pay a visit to some relations of his, and had now joined this expedition. But one must be very careful with these Shúwa; for, to use a common expression, if you give them an inch, they are wont to take an ell. But for their Jewish character, I should have liked to enter into more intimate relations with them than I actually did.

Their emigration into these regions, at least several centuries ago, is certainly not without interest; and, as I have already had occasion to observe in another place, they preserve the characteristic type of their race very distinctly—a middle-sized, slender figure (which, however, is apt to become fuller as they advance in years), small pleasing features, and a dark olive complexion. Their dialect is very peculiar; and while it lays claim to a far greater purity than belongs to the dialects of the coast, by the profusion of vowels which it has preserved, its character is deteriorated, and becomes nearly ridiculous, by the continued repetition and insertion of certain words. A Shúwa is not able to say three words without inserting his favourite term "kúch, kúch," which corresponds to the English word "thorough," but which is not Arabic at all. When they omit the word "kúch," they make use of another term, "bérketek," "your worship," which at once bears testimony to the servile and degraded position which they occupy in Negroland, although in Bórnu they are still treated with some indulgence and lenity, especially since the time when Mohammed Tiráb,

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the father of the present vizier, who belonged to the tribe of the Sálamát, attained the highest degree of power and influence in the country. In Wádáy again, even at the present time, they are treated very badly.

Of Kanúri people, besides a few smaller bodies of troops, only two officers, or kashéllas, 'Alí Marghí and Jérma, were wanting. All the officers and bodies of troops on this side of the komádugu of Bórnu, the so-called Yeou, were collected together, the only exception being Kashélla Mánzo, my hospitable host in Zurríkulo, whose presence at his post was required on account of the Tawárek; for, as regards the officers and chiefs of the provinces on the other side of the komádugu, nobody is required to take part in these expeditions of the sheikh, every officer remaining at his post, except when his master enters upon a war in his own quarters.

While the encampment itself presented considerable interest, as being the temporary abode of so many people, the town of Díkowa, near which we were encamped, seemed well deserving some attention, as having been repeatedly the residence of the rulers of the country, and being still one of the largest towns in the kingdom. I therefore paid a visit to it in the afternoon of the second day of our stay, being accompanied by my friend Billama. We entered the town by the western gate; and I saw that the walls were about thirty feet high, and terraced on the inside like those of the capital, and of considerable breadth at

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the base: they were in a state of good repair. I was struck by the height and round shape of the huts, which entirely wanted the characteristic top, or, as the Kanúri people call it, kógi ngímbe, and were of the same kind as I had observed in the other towns of this southern province. Every hut had its little courtyard, in some of which vegetation was seen, mostly karás.

The further we proceeded, the more I was pleased with the general appearance of the town, the exterior of which had made a favourable impression upon me on our first arrival. Large, beautiful, wide-spreading fig-trees, ngábore, chédia or elastic gum-trees, and kórna-trees, spread their shade all around, and two or three isolated papaw-trees, or as the Kanúri call them, bambús-másarbe, with their remarkable feathery crowns and their smooth virgin-like stems, formed a lively contrast to the broad-leafed canopy of the other trees, while the hedges and fences of the courtyards were partly enlivened by a luxurious creeper called "dagdágel" by the natives. The real nucleus of the town seemed to consist entirely of clay houses.

After a very pleasant ride, we reached the house of the "mainta," or governor, who still enjoys a certain degree of independence. The chief ornament of the place in front of his house was the most splendid caoutchouc-tree I have ever seen; indeed I can scarcely imagine that the diameter of its crown, which was so regularly and symmetrically shaped that it appeared as if effected by art, measured less

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than from seventy to eighty feet. It really formed a beautiful fáge, or, as the Háusa people call it, ícheu-batú, or open council-hall, such as are common in these places; but at present no political business of any importance was transacted here, and it formed a favourite lounge for idle people, amongst whom there was a troop of musicians, playing lustily upon their instruments to console the petty chief for the loss of his former power, which had dwindled away to a mere shadow. I would gladly have paid him a visit; but, poor as I was at the time, and without a single article worthy of his acceptance, I was rather glad that I was under no obligation to him. The interruption in the daily course of life of the inhabitants, by the presence of the army, was the more to be lamented, as it prevented me from becoming an eye-witness to the chief industry of the natives, which consists in weaving, and manufacturing into shirts, the cotton which they grow; for they are almost exclusively cotton-growers, and have very little corn. But, although they are able to produce a fine sort of texture, they are very badly off for dyeing, and in this respect are far outstripped by the inhabitants of Ujé and Mákari. Instead of the beating of shirts, which forms so pleasant a sound in many other industrial towns of Negroland, there was nothing to be heard but the sound which proceeded from the powder-mill, if I may be allowed to give this grand name to a yard in which eight slaves were employed in pounding powder in large wooden mor-

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tars; for this is the way in which powder is prepared in Negroland, and during my stay in Bagírmi every time I had my coffee pounded (as I did not possess a coffee-mill), I excited the suspicion that I was preparing powder. Of course the presence of the army was the reason why so little activity was to be seen at present, and the little market, or durríya, which is held in the afternoon, was very badly attended; but the size and populousness of the town made such an impression upon me, that I thought myself justified in rating the number of inhabitants at about twenty-five thousand.

Altogether I was so much pleased with the character of the place, that on expressing my satisfaction to one of the inhabitants who came to salute my companion, with the words, "A'tema bílla ngílla," "This is a fine town," he replied, with conscious pride, "A'te bílla déka genί, áte bílla maíwa," "This is not a country town; this is a royal residence." We reached the gate on the north-west side of the town, just at the moment when 'Abd e' Rahmán, the eldest brother of the sheikh 'Omár, arrived with a party of horsemen. What his business was I do not know; but before the expedition left the town, there had been a great many unfavourable rumours concerning his ambitious designs, and the malcontents expected that he would avail himself of this opportunity for striking a blow at the vizier, in order to prevent the expedition from proceeding against Mándará, as he himself was supposed

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to be on friendly terms with the chief of that country. But whatever may have been his intentions, he found his rival still too strong; and, after a friendly parting from his brother, he retraced his steps.

The view over the encampment, which presented itself when from the north I turned to the south-west side of the town, was extremely interesting; and I kept along the higher ground formed by the rubbish which had accumulated at the foot of the wall. Tents of every description and size—light sheds constructed with the long stalks of Indian corn, supported by four poles, and connected lightly at the top and forming high-topped gables—horses and men, all in the greatest confusion, presented a busy scene of animated life; but the place where our tents were pitched had become so confined, that I was glad to avail myself of any opportunity which presented itself of roving about in the neighbourhood.

The most attractive place was the komádugu, or water-course, which passes at some distance to the south of the town, and is distinguished by the special name of Yálowe. It was a very charming spot, winding along through a rich and varied forest, bordered by an uninterrupted line of the finest fig-trees, principally of the kind called "ngábore." The channel itself was only about forty yards wide, encompassed by banks of from twelve to fifteen feet in height, and at present it was not enlivened by a continuous stream, but contained several detached pools of stagnant water. Although the water was cool, and not disagreeable to

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the taste, still it was not very pure, and could not but contain the germs of much disease. This is the same komádugu with which, in its upper course in the territory of Ujé, I had become acquainted on my journey to A'damáwa.* The banks all around were enlivened by horses and pack-oxen, who were enjoying the rich verdure; and there was not a shady tree but had been taken possession of by a troop of Kánembú or Kanúri, in order to find that comfortable repose which the noisy encampment could not afford.

Having heard that the wealth of the inhabitants of Díkowa consisted of cotton, I expected to find extensive well-kept cotton-plantations; but, although the article was cultivated to a great extent, I was astonished at the neglected appearance which it exhibited, the cotton-fields being almost buried beneath the thicket, and overgrown not only with rank grass, but even with trees and bushes, so that scarcely any space was left for the plants to spread out; nevertheless their luxuriant growth bore ample testimony to the rich nature of the soil, and gave an idea of the wealth that lies buried in these regions. I have already observed, on another occasion, that the natives of Negroland take very little care of their cotton-plantations; and there is no doubt that, if sufficient care was bestowed, quite a different quality might be produced.

* With regard to the direction of its lower course, the statements of the people do not entirely agree, and I shall have occasion to say something more about it when I speak of my return journey from Bagírmi.

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I roved about in this wild and fertile region till I was entirely hemmed in by an impenetrable thicket. While returning hence to our encampment by a more westerly path, I was ruminating in my mind how the former rulers of this country had evinced so much more feeling for the bounty and beauty of nature than its present possessors; for, while these have chosen for their residence the most monotonous district of the empire, the former selected those parts which nature itself had embellished — the shores of the so-called Yeou, or the komádugu Wáube, and this fine watercourse of Díkowa; and they not only chose the most interesting spots, but they even embellished them by art, as the large artificial basins in the neighbourhood of Ghasréggomo, Ghámbarú, and Dámasak amply testify. In this respect it is not uninteresting that we are informed by the imám A'hmed, the historian of the king Edrís Alawóma, that his master, when he visited the town of Fíka, could not forego the pleasure of paying a visit to the famous little alpine lake which lies at some distance from that town. Although the country of Bórnu is far from being the most favoured part of Negroland, yet the shores of these watercourses are very rich indeed, and capable of maintaining a numerous population.

In returning to our encampment, I passed the market, or durríya, which was held every afternoon on the west side of the encampment. It was really a busy scene, not yielding in importance to the little daily market of the capital; and this was not at all

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marvellous, as a greater crowd of people, and a far greater number of horses, were gathered here than the average population of Kúkawa. Not only were provisions, such as meat, grain, beans, ground-nuts, and other articles of a like description, offered for sale; but even small luxuries; and there was a good deal of bartering, as the buyers were destitute of currency—kúngona, or cowries, as well as gábagá or cotton strips. I also observed that the encampment, especially on this side, where it was skirted by a thick covert of trees, was encircled by a living wall of light Kánembú spearmen, who were keeping watch; for although the army was still in its own territory, yet, in the weak state of the government, a certain degree of insecurity already commences here; and the very first evening of our being encamped on this spot, the ngáufate was roused by the gangéma, or announcement by beat of drum, to the effect that everybody should be on his guard against horse-stealers.

While the country around presented interesting features, and the encampment itself exhibited a scene of great variety, the time we spent here passed away comfortably and agreeably, with the sole exception that the space allotted to us was too confined to be comfortable. We were on the most friendly terms with the sheikh as well as with his vizier; and all court etiquette was dispensed with. This went so far that I and my companion accommodated our noble and princely friends with our woollen jackets and

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drawers; for they began to feel the cold at night very severely, and on these occasions the very respectable Háj Edrís had to play the part of a royal laundress.

Already, during our hibernal stay in the country of Aïr, we had been obliged to accommodate our old and austere friend A'nnur and his numerous relatives with our Turkish waistcoats: but we had not yet condescended to give away our under-clothing; and being ourselves extremely poor and destitute in every respect, it was certainly not a little privation we imposed upon ourselves. The clothes of the sheikh and his vizier were all very wide, and not fit for keeping out the cold. I have repeatedly had occasion to mention how sensitive the Africans are to cold; and I am persuaded that, in the burning regions of Central Africa, a good cargo of warm under-clothing would find a ready sale, especially if it should arrive in the months of December and January. But neither did our noble hosts, on their part, fail to do everything in their power to render our situation as comfortable as possible; and it was very satisfactory to see how anxious the vizier was to supply us with all desirable information.

One evening at a late hour, when I was reposing in my tent and about to go to bed, he sent for me in the greatest hurry, as if my life or death were at stake; and upon hastening thither, anxious to hear what was the matter, I was told that the vizier had been informed of a person being in the encampment

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who, like my old friend the m'allem Katúri, had accompanied the memorable expedition of A'mba Sámbo, the warlike chief of Chámba, towards the country of I'gbo on the sea-coast. But while the latter had gone to Mbáfu with the main body of the army, the adventurous proceedings of that person had not even been limited by the boundaries of the sea; and he informed me in the most positive and conclusive manner that the body of troops which he accompanied had sailed along a rocky coast for fifteen days, when they unexpectedly met with an island, where they took possession of a number of muskets, their owners, who were all dressed in jackets, having taken refuge in their large vessel.

He did not doubt that these people were Christians, and according to the description which he gave me of the vessel, there can scarcely be any doubt that it was a European one; but I did not feel quite certain as to the point whether he had navigated a large river, or the open sea, though I think it probable they went down the Niger, and surprised one of the European traders at the mouth of the river. At any rate, however, this is an extremely interesting circumstance. I apprehend that the chiefs of A'damáwa will hesitate in future to extend their expeditions so far, after an English steamer has gone up the river to the very heart of their own country. It was this same Bórnu horseman who informed me that, on that expedition, all the horses had died from a disease proceeding from worms.

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While chatting together upon these subjects till after midnight, I had an opportunity of giving the vizier some little information regarding the peculiar character of the maritime power of the imám of Maskat, of which he had never heard before, and which interested him exceedingly. With the Arabs of Timbúktu, also, this subject formed a topic of the highest interest, as they had no idea that there were people of the same faith living on the eastern shores of this continent; and they delighted in the thought, that even in those regions there were Moslems, who were not quite destitute of political power. For, although the famous traveller Ebn Batúta has given to his countrymen an account of these regions, it was only in Sókoto that I met with a man, the learned Káderi dan Táffa, who knew Sofála by name.

My friend Bíllama also frequently called on me, and furnished me with a variety of information*, while I applied myself strenuously to the study of the Kanúri language, which had discouraged me at first, owing to the difficulties of its grammatical structure: and I

* Among other things, he informed me that at a short distance north from Díkowa lies the town A'jiri, equally surrounded by a clay wall, and inhabited by Kanúri; but while a tribute is levied on Díkowa by the Malá Mása Mándará, A'jiri belongs to a man called A'bsa. About two hours south by west from Díkowa is another walled town, called Gáwa; but this town still at the present day is inhabited by the ancient population of the country, viz., the Gámerghú, and is the residence of a petty native chief, Bíllama Sára, while another petty chief of the Gámerghú has his residence in Degímba, the Dagwamba of Major Denham. Of the Gámerghú I have spoken on a former occasion.

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could scarcely have had a better teacher than our friend Háj Edrís; for, being of Kanúri origin, he had lived a great many years in the east, especially in Medína, and had become almost an Arab. He was certainly an intelligent and honest man; and in the course of our stay we became indebted to him in many respects. Of course we could not expect him to render his service gratuitously, as he himself was not in affluent circumstances, though as a courtier he had to keep up a good appearance; but being myself very poor at the time, I could do nothing but place him upon a needle-pension, the needles being very useful in the encampment for buying provisions.

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CHAP. XLIII.

THE BORDER-REGION OF THE SHUWA.

Saturday, December 6th.

At length, after a protracted stay, we left our encampment at Díkowa, though still in complete uncertainty whether the expedition was directed against Mándará or not; for as yet the chief of that little country (which, through the adventures of Major Denham, has obtained in Europe a greater share of attention than it really deserves), relying upon the natural strength of his mountains, had not yet made his submission. The rumours which we heard from thence were of the most contradictory nature; and it seemed as if Abú Bakr, which is the name of the present chief, had made up his mind to a determined resistance, having retired into his mountain-fastnesses, to the great disappointment of the vizier, who repeatedly asked me and my companion, with great anxiety, what was to be done, and how it was possible for the cavalry to attack the enemy in his mountainous retreat: for, whatever military strength the Kanúri may still possess, it is almost solely to be looked for in their cavalry. The former excellence of the Kánembú spearmen, resulting

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from their enthusiastic devotion to their leader, has disappeared long ago, at least since the overthrow of the old dynasty; and the vizier had to expect very little sympathy from this body, as most of them were decidedly favourable to the interest of his adversary, 'Abd e' Rahmáh. As far as I had been able to learn the nature of those rocky mountains on my journey to Yóla, I could not but think that not only the cavalry of Bórnu, but even the Kánembú spearmen, accustomed as they were to the level plains of their country, would be incapable of climbing those rocky cliffs.

The whole country was enveloped in a thick fog when we started in the morning; so that the passage of the komádugu, with its steep banks, caused a considerable crowding and pushing, which was far from agreeable. When we had got safely over, we had to pass a thick forest consisting of "bíto" and "kindín" or talha-trees; and on our left appeared the large walled place of A'fagé, a considerable town, but not so large as Díkowa. After only a short interval, we saw another town on our right, called Kodége, the walls of which were in an advanced state of decay, but were at present adorned with living battlements of male and female spectators.

Proceeding a short distance onward, we encamped at an early hour to the westward of another walled town, called Zógoma. The whole of this district, favoured as it is by nature, seems to have been once in a very flourishing condition. It was, however,

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rather odd that we should have encamped here, as the horses had to be led back to A'fagé for water.

I had scarcely pitched my tent, when that cruel minister of police, Lamíno, a man whose character my friend Háj Edrís used significantly to describe in the few words, "kárgo díbbi, kíndi díbbi" (bad in heart, and bad in deed), brought into my presence a famous cut-throat of the name of Barka-ngólo, whose neck was secured in a large machine called "bégo," consisting of two pieces of wood from four to five feet in length, and very heavy, so that every movement was accompanied with the greatest pain. Nevertheless my mischievous friend persuaded himself that it would gratify me to see this miserable wretch fight with another culprit secured in the same manner, by giving to each of them a long whip of hippopotamus-hide, and forcing them by threats to flog each other. It was a horrible sight; and I had great difficulty in convincing my cruel friend that such a scene was far from being agreeable to me. In order to get rid of him, I presented him with a quantity of cloves to give to his beloved 'Aáisha, of whose culinary powers we had already had several proofs. He was greatly pleased with my present; and with an amorous smile he described to me how deeply he was in love with his darling, saying that he loved her, and she loved him also: "and," added he in a very sentimental way, "such a mutual love is the greatest bliss on earth." Europeans must not fancy that there is no such feeling among these Africans as love, although it is not

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quite so ethereal as it sometimes seems to be with us. Notwithstanding these amorous declarations, which sounded very ridiculous coming from such a mass of flesh as he was, I was glad when he was gone.

We were now approaching hostile territory, and in the evening a "gangéma," or proclamation accompanied by beat of drum, was made throughout the whole encampment, to the effect that the train of camels and pack-oxen, which previously had greatly hemmed in the cavalry, should not start until after the former had moved on. Zógoma is the farthest town of the Bórnu territory in this direction; and the following day we encamped in a district of the name of Mása, close to a swamp, thickly covered with water-plants, principally the *Pistia stratiotes*. Several Shúwa villages were lying about at short distances from each other.

On the road we passed some cotton-plantations and stubble-fields. The chief agricultural produce of Mása consisted of "sábade," the sweet sorghum or *Sorghum saccharatum*. This sort of grain I had not yet seen in the course of my journey; but in Díkowa my friend Malá Ibrám had sent me a large quantity of it, in order that I might indulge in this African luxury. At that period I was surprised at the great length of these stalks, some of which measured fourteen feet; but how astonished was I afterwards, when, in the course of my travels, in the luxuriant valleys of Kebbi I found specimens of twice that length! This evening the vizier treated

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us with the marrow of the "sábade," which in snow-white pieces of about eight inches in length, were neatly placed upon a straw cover or "féfe," such as are used in the country. While indulging in this simple African dainty, our conversation, very naturally, turned upon the cultivation as well as the preparation of sugar, which is one of those articles of European industry that most excites the admiration of the natives of this country. But when they learn in what a filthy manner it is refined, they become horrified, and hesitate whether they shall say farewell to this indulgence, or overcome the scruples and prejudices of their creed.

There is no doubt that the "sábade" would yield a rich produce of sugar; but it is not necessary to have recourse to this expedient, as the sugar-cane itself grows wild in several regions of Negroland, and we shall actually find a small plantation of it, and boiling-houses, on a small scale, carried on by a native in the neighbourhood of Sókoto. Our conversation at these African *soirées* with the vizier became sometimes so learned, that even Ptolemy with his "*Mandros oros*" was quoted. But, sad as it must seem to all who, like myself, delight in going back into remote antiquity, this famous mountain, which at the first sight seems to be an ancient memorial of the Mándará mountains, of some 1700 years standing, appears to belong entirely to Western Africa. Our kind host always found great delight in every kind of information; it was only a

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pity he was wanting in manly energy to carry out his good projects.

Monday, December 8th. Woe to those regions through which an army takes its march in these parts of the world, were it even their own country. We passed this morning some very extensive corn-fields, the crops of which were of the most luxuriant growth; but notwithstanding the piteous clamours, and even the threats of the slaves who were watching on the highly raised platforms in order to keep away the birds from the corn, the rich ears fell a prey to the hungry horsemen, for their own sustenance and that of their animals. These raised platforms are here called "górgo;" and the ropes which were fastened between them and the trees were provided with small hollow gourds, "káre," filled with stones, which, when set in motion, were intended to frighten away the birds.

After a tolerable march, we took up our encampment near the straggling hamlet Delhé, a locality touched at by Major Denham, on his unfortunate expedition to Mándará, but placed by him much too far southward.

All the cottages in these Shúwa villages have a conical roof rising to a great elevation, and tapering like a sugar-loaf, — the thatch being put on in a very irregular way, and fastened with ropes, though it is pleasantly and cheerfully adorned by the climbers of the "ságade" or "kubéwa," a species of the *Cucurbita melopepo* (squash gourd), if not iden-

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tical with it, the fruit of which, when boiled, has a very pleasant taste, and in some regions of Negroland, as far as Timbúktu, forms the principal vegetable for seasoning food.

The long duration of the rainy season here, as well as in A'damáwa, renders sheds for the cattle necessary; and these consist of huts constructed similarly to the dwellings of man, but more spacious, with the exception that the walls consist merely of trunks of trees. The Shúwa of this village, as well as those of a neighbouring one, which after the name of a chief is called Háj A'maka, belong to the tribe of the Bulgówa, or 'Awisíya. The place where we encamped was full of brushwood; and it took us a long time to pitch our tents.

The variation of the temperature was so great, that I caught a severe cold; it was therefore agreeable to me that we remained here the following day: for while, during the greatest heat, at two o'clock, P.M., the thermometer in the ventilated tent showed often from 93° to 96° F., during the night it generally fell to between 50° and 53°. The vizier was kind enough, when I did not come to his *soirée*, to send one of his young slaves with a censer; but I was so unfortunate as to excite the anger of the little tyrannical messenger, who wanted me to imitate their own custom, which is, to place the censer under their wide shirt, and, by drawing the opening close over the head, to concentrate the fumes arising from the incense under their shirt, and receive it into the

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face, while I, thinking this rather too much, was satisfied with holding my face over it.

Wednesday, Dec. 10th. We made a short march in advance, and transferred our encampment to Díggera, through a country where wilderness and cultivated ground alternated. Here we remained the five following days; and I had sufficient leisure to regret that I was not better provided with books. Anxious to employ my time usefully, I began, with the assistance of two Mándará, or rather Wándalá slaves, to write down a vocabulary of the language of that country, which by the natives themselves is called "A'ra-Wándalá," as they call their country "Khakh-Wándalá," or "Khákh-U'ndalá."

The cold which we experienced during our stay here we considered very severe — at least from an African point of view and feeling; for in Europe it would have been thought very moderate. Fortunately our encampment was more comfortable than it had been at Delhé, and presented features of considerable interest; for here we saw the first complete example of those shallow stagnant watercourses which are so highly characteristic of the equatorial regions of this continent, and explain at the same time the conflicting statements with regard to the direction of so many watercourses in these regions. However, there are two different kinds of these shallow waters: first, such as are in immediate connection with larger rivers, and often run parallel to them, and which most appropriately deserve

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to be called backwaters ; and, secondly, those which are quite independent, and form a small water-system by themselves. To the latter kind seems to belong this swampy sheet of water, or "ngáljam," of Díggera, although I heard some Shúwa affirm that it extended to the Tsád.

I first turned my steps eastward, where the encampment extended to the very foot of the beautiful trees, which, forming a rich border of the finest embroidery from the hand of nature, girt the water. Most of them were either fig (sycamore) or tamarind-trees. The aspect of the scenery was most interesting, and under almost every tamarind-tree a group of people was encamped.

The cavity where this sheet of water had collected formed a very slight depression in the meadow-ground, it being almost flat; the water, to all appearance, had already decreased considerably, and only in a few places presented an open sheet, being in general closely overgrown with rank grass and tall reeds. I followed it to a considerable distance towards the N.N.W., till I was obliged by the thick covert to retrace my steps, and then turned westward. The far larger extension of the water during the rainy season was sufficiently indicated by the luxuriant growth of trees. I crossed it at a spot where it was not so extensive, and found the bottom of it extremely muddy, which made the passage rather difficult, though the water was only two and a half feet

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deep. The intended outlines of its shores greatly distinguished it from those more complete and regular-shaped ngáljams, which, in the course of time, I had an opportunity of visiting, not only in those extensive plains between the river Bénuwé and Shári, but also in the regions of the middle course of the so-called Niger; for, in the quarters just mentioned, these shallow waters, or meadow-waters, often stretch out, in a straight or regularly-sweeping line, like artificial canals, to an immense distance,—especially that most interesting sheet of water three days west of Timbúktu, the "A'raf-n-áman," or Rás el má.

Of quite a different nature is the character of the famous Bahar el Ghazál, which joins the Tsád on the north-eastern side, being a broad sandy valley girt by a rich border of vegetation. This peculiar valley, which it was not our destiny to become acquainted with by ocular inspection, formed the subject of conversation with the vizier on Sunday evening; and a disputation arose, of so scientific a character that it might have silenced all those who scoff at the uncivilized state of the population of these regions. To be sure, the two principal persons in this conversation were Arabs; but their forefathers had been settled in these regions for at least ten generations.

Here in Díggera, where we were only one good day's march distant from the capital of Mándara, our friends were obliged to come to a decision upon the future destination of the expedition. After the news which had arrived some days previously, that the

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petty chief of Mándará, whose ancestor had once completely defeated a countless host of the Bórnu people, had decided upon making resistance, they had been very silent and dejected, and were therefore extremely delighted when at length, to-day, a servant of the obstinate vassal made his appearance with a present of ten beautiful female slaves, and the offer of complete submission. So at least we were told; but the affair seemed very doubtful, and a native of Mándará, or, as they say, A'r-Wándalá, afterwards assured me that his master, the powerful "Tuksé" of Khakhúndala, had been so far from making his submission to the insolent "Móthaké" (by this name they call the Bórnu people), that, on the contrary, he had treated them with contempt. Which of the two assertions was correct I do not know; but it is probable that the chief of Mándará thought it prudent to consent to some sort of compromise—perhaps through the intermediation of 'Abd e' Rahmán, the sheikh's brother.

Whatever may have been the case, the vizier informed us in the evening, in a very cheerful manner, that the affair with Mándará had taken the most favourable turn, and that in consequence the sheikh, with a small part of the army, was to retrace his steps, while he himself, with the far larger portion, was to undertake an expedition into the Músgu country, and that we, of course, were to accompany him. Now we were well aware that the object of this expedition was partly to make slaves, and that, in our character as messengers of the

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British government, we ought to endeavour to keep aloof from anything connected with the infamous subject of slavery; but as we could not hinder it if we kept back, and as by accompanying the expedition we might prevent a deal of mischief, and might likewise have a fair opportunity of convincing ourselves whether what was related of the cruelty of the Mohammedans in these expeditions was true or exaggerated, we decided upon accompanying the vizier. At the same time it was of the utmost importance to visit that very region which was the object of the expedition, as it was the only way to decide upon the relation between the central basin of the Tsád and the great western river, with its eastern branch, while there was no possibility of visiting it by ourselves. We had already convinced ourselves that the country of the Músgu is not, as Major Denham has represented it, a mountainous, inaccessible tract; but we were puzzled at the number of watercourses of which our informants had spoken, and we could not have the least idea how fertile a country it was, and how far remote its inhabitants were from that state of barbarism which had been imputed to them. We therefore, although reluctantly, and not without scruple, at length determined upon accompanying the expedition; and I hope that every considerate person who takes into account all the circumstances in which we were placed, will approve of our resolution.

Wednesday, December 17th. At length we proceeded onwards, entering new regions never trodden by Euro-

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pean foot. Our departure having been delayed in the morning, owing to the separating of the army, we started rather late, leaving the sheikh, with the rest of the "kebú," behind. The country at once presented a new and interesting feature. Already in Bórnu a considerable proportion of our diet had consisted of native rice, and we had been rather astonished at its black colour and bad quality. We had heard that it grew wild in the southern provinces of the country; but we had never yet seen it, and it was only this morning, after we had left Díggera and had traversed extensive stubble-fields of millet intermixed with beans, that we obtained a first view of a "shinkáfaram," or wild rice-field, in the midst of the forest. We were then no longer surprised at the quality of the rice brought to the market in Kúkawa being so bad, as we felt justified in presuming that the elephant would have sense enough to take the best for himself, and leave the rest for the people. As we proceeded we found the whole wilderness, although not thickly wooded, full of pools of water and dense rice-fields.

The country to-day presented a truly tropical aspect; and our encampment, lying near an extensive pond, or small lagoon, surrounded with a luxuriant growth of rice and a dense border of spreading trees, was so full of the footprints of the elephant, that scarcely a level spot of two or three feet in diameter could be found. This was by no means pleasant, in our present mode of living, as we were without a

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camp-stool, or anything to sit or lie upon; for the argillaceous soil is so excessively hard, that the borders of these holes produced by the unwieldy foot of the elephant cause a great deal of pain to a person lying on the ground with nothing but a mat or carpet.

The most essential instrument on this whole journey was the "láteram," the digging-instrument (from "langin," "I dig"), consisting of a large piece of wood about three feet long, with a heavy iron point; for without the láteram it would have been impossible to fix the dáteram (from "dangin," "I fasten, stop"), or the pole to which the horses are fastened during the night. In general, every horseman digs the hole in which the pole is fastened with his own spear; but this soil was so hard that it was scarcely possible to make the smallest hole in it. Of course, during the rainy season it is just as soft and muddy as it is hard in the dry season, and scarcely passable in consequence.

A giraffe was caught to-day. I had been of opinion that this timorous animal was not found in the thickly inhabited regions near the equator; but I soon learned from experience that it is not at all rare in the wildernesses which alternate with the densely populated regions of these districts. The elephant, however, is the predominant animal of these quarters; and the large market-place, Fátawel, which I have mentioned on my journey to A'damáwa, and the Logón town Jéna, or rather Jínna, seem to be of considerable importance for their ivory-trade.

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In the evening I had the misfortune to be stung by a scorpion, which had got into my bernús. As I had not noticed the animal in the dark, and thinking that it was nothing but one of the formidable black ants, the bite of which is very painful, I neglected the wound at first, so that the poison penetrated to the shoulder, and rendered my right arm useless for two days.

Seeing that we were now entirely in the hands of the vizier, my companion and I used to present ourselves at his tent every morning, and to ride for some time near him. I, however, soon found it pleasanter to keep more in the rear of the army, a little in advance of his female slaves; and in the narrow paths in the midst of the forest, where the crowding became very disagreeable, I used to keep behind his led horses. Of female slaves on horseback and led-horses the vizier had with him the moderate number of eight of each kind, while the sheikh had twelve; but this appeared to me a small number when I afterwards saw the king of Bagírmi returning from the expedition with a string of forty-five mounted female partners. These black damsels were all clothed in white woollen bernúses, with their faces completely veiled, and were closely watched.

Thursday, December 18th.

To-day we had a more complete specimen of that peculiar kind of shallow water which I have mentioned above; and the army, while they were winding around it on the fresh green meadow-lands, closely hemmed in

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on their left by a grove of fine trees, presented a highly interesting scene. From thence, passing through a thick covert, we entered the beautiful open district of Wolóje, which comprises several hamlets. Here I was amused at seeing the head man of a village successfully putting to flight, with a large branch of a tree, a troop of pilfering horsemen. A little beyond these hamlets the encampment was chosen, at some little distance from a very extensive "ngáljam."

Our conversation with the vizier in the evening again took a geographical turn, owing to the presence of his spy or scout, who had just returned from delivering his message to the Músgu prince A'dishén. The vizier was as yet undecided in which direction to turn his steps; and we heard a native chief, of the name of Puss, or Fuss, mentioned in a manner that assured us our friends were afraid to attack him. A'dishén, the chief just mentioned, was in a certain degree subject to the rulers of Bórnu; but it seemed rather an ironical assertion that this prince would be pleased with the arrival of the expedition. While describing his reception at the court of the chief, the scout indulged in a lively description of the customs prevalent among these people, whose chief had only outwardly adopted Islám. His Majesty, he said, used to indulge in amorous intercourse with his female slaves, of whom he had two hundred, before the eyes of his people; an account which was rather confirmed by Kashélla Belál, who had been his host several times. Belál, who was a very jovial old fellow, also

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stated that this little prince was not jealous of the favours bestowed by his female partners upon his guests; but, on the contrary, that he himself voluntarily gave them up to them. Such a degrading custom may indeed be followed by this petty chief, who has betrayed his country in order that, by the influence of his more powerful neighbours, he might rule over his countrymen; but we need not draw a conclusion from him as to the customs of the whole tribe, although, of course, they regard the relation of the sexes in a simpler point of view than we do.

Friday, December 19th.

The country through which we passed, on leaving our encampment in the morning, was most charming, and of a most expansive bound, and exactly suited for pastoral tribes like the Shúwa and Fúlbe; but traces of cultivation also, and even of cotton-fields, were not wanting; while further on, the dúm-bush appeared, and was after a while succeeded by the tall fan-shaped dúm-palm itself. The country being open, and without any obstruction whatever, the "kibú," or army, marched in an extended line of battle, "báta," separated into groups of the most varied description in attire and appearance: the heavy cavalry, clad in thick wadded clothing, others in their coats of mail, with their tin helmets glittering in the sun, and mounted on large heavy chargers, which appeared almost oppressed by the weight of their riders and their own warlike accoutréments; the light Shúwa horsemen, clad only in a loose shirt, and mounted upon their weak unseemly nags; the self-conceited slaves,

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decked out gaudily in red bernúses or silken dresses of various colours; the Kánembú spearmen, almost naked, with their large wooden shields, their half-torn aprons round their loins, their barbarous head-dresses, and their bundles of spears; then, in the distance behind, the continuous train of camels and pack-oxen: all the people full of spirits, and in the expectation of rich booty, pressing onward to the unknown regions towards the south-east.

It was an exalted feeling of unrestrained liberty which animated me while, mounted on my noble charger, I rode silently along at the side of this motley host, contemplating now the fine, beautiful country, now the rich scenes of human life, which were illumined by a bright morning sun. As yet no blood had been shed by this army, and neither misery, devastation, nor the horrors of people torn from their homes, cried out against it. Every one seemed to think only of sport and amusement. Now and then a stir would be raised in the whole army when a gazelle started forth from the thicket, endeavouring to escape from her pursuers, but soon found herself hemmed in on every side, while Shúwa horsemen and Kánembú spearmen, each endeavouring to possess himself of the prize, cried out to his rivals in the pursuit, "kólle, kólle!" "leave off, leave off!" as if the prey was already his own, while others animated their companions by shouting out, "góne, góne!" "chase, chase!" the sounds re-echoing from one troop to another; or when a fat guinea-fowl "káji," or a partridge, "kwíye," roused from its secure

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covert, took to its wings, but, trying to fly over those widely-scattered troops of hostile men, and frightened by their cries, was soon obliged to look for a moment's respite, and, after a vain struggle, fell a prey to its pursuers, who often, while they laid hold of it, tore it actually into pieces.

The wide open country seemed to invite the traveller into the far distance; but to-day our march was only of short duration, and before eight o'clock in the morning a new encampment, upon a fresh spot, was again springing up. This whole country is still included in the extensive district of Wolóje; but the water, which was close to the side of the encampment, has the peculiar name of Kodásalé. Tho whole of the inhabitants of the district belong to the Shúwa tribe of the Bénesé. To the east of Kodásalé lies the place Lawári, towards the west Súggemé, beyond U'lba, and south-west of the latter Memé, and north-west Momó. All these villages are inhabited by Shúwa and Kanúri in common; beyond is the wilderness or karága.

I, too, had my little daily "nógona," or divan, in which Kashélla Bíllama, my friend from A'damáwa, and Háj Edrís, formed my principal courtiers, or "kokanáwa," though occasionally other people attended. All these people I kept attached to me by presents of a few needles, with which they supplied their wants in the neighbouring villages. Bíllama informed me to-day that for three needles he had bought sufficient

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provision for his horse for one day; for two he had bought a wooden bowl, or "búkuru;" and for six more a good supply of meat. Thus this insignificant production of European industry became of the highest value to me; and it obtained still more value and importance, in the course of my journey to Bagírmi, when it constituted my only wealth, and in consequence procured me the noble title of "needle-prince," "malaríbra."

We remained here the following day, as the army had to provide itself with corn, or rather Negro grain, as we were told that we should enter upon a wild uncultivated tract, the border-region between the seats of the Mohammedans and those of the pagan tribes, which, as is generally the case in these parts of the world, has been reduced to desolation.

Each of the surrounding villages had to send two ox-loads of grain, which, however, did not benefit the army in general, but fell entirely to the share of the friends and followers of Lamíno, the remainder of this immense host being thrown upon their own resources. All the grain was carried on asses. It was in this encampment that the vizier made a present to Mr. Overweg of a small lion. He had given him, on a former occasion, a "súmmoli." This is a very ferocious cat, of rather rare occurrence, which is said not only to attack gazelles, but young cattle or calves. It was of a light brown colour, the hind part, however, being black, and had very pointed upright ears, "súmmo," a circumstance

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from which the name has been derived. The ears, moreover, are ornamented with a black stripe. A great many curious stories are related by the people with regard to the ferocity of this animal, and from what we ourselves had an opportunity of observing, it seems to be a marvellous little creature: for, though still very young and small, it was nevertheless extremely fierce, and was quite master of the young lion. Both animals were fed with boiled milk, of which they were very fond; but the continual swinging motion which they had to endure on the back of the camels in the heat of the day, caused their death very soon.

Sunday, December 21st.

The crowding and thronging was excessive when we started in order to pursue our march. The wilderness at first was tolerably clear, being at times evidently a place of resort for numerous herds of elephants, as the quantity of dung, and the uninterrupted tracks of deep footprints, which gave to the soil the appearance of a colossal chessboard, amply testified. After a march of about six miles the wilderness became more thickly overgrown, and presented a fine forest scenery; but, as is generally the case on such warlike expeditions, there is no leisure to pay attention to special phenomena, especially as the Bórnu horses are in general very wild and vicious, and in the throng everybody was continually liable to come into collision with his neighbour's horse, which, perchance, might be a furious kicker.

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The general character of this jungle was this. The ground was covered with dúm-bush, which formed a thick brushwood, and here and there with rank grass, while the forest in general consisted of middle-sized trees, chiefly mimosas and kálgos, though there were other specimens, especially the kókia-tree, which I had first seen on my journey from Gezáwa to Kátsena, the trees of smaller size being separated into groups by large spreading specimens of the vegetable kingdom, mostly of the ficus kind; for monkey-bread trees seemed to be wanting entirely, and altogether I saw few specimens of this tree in the Músgu country. Very remarkable nests of birds, suspended from the branches, were observed, not unlike a purse, with a long narrow neck hanging down and forming the entrance; or rather like a chemist's retort suspended from the head, the shank being several inches long, and the whole beautifully fabricated with the most surprising skill. Of the skilful manufacturers of these fine dwellings we did not obtain a sight; but probably it is a species of *loxia*. In this thick covert, several young elephants were hunted down, and even the giraffe seemed frequent.

The place which we chose for our encampment was adorned by numerous fan-palms, which, although in general identical with the species called *Chamærops humilis*, nevertheless by their height appeared to be a distinct variety, and gave to the encampment a very picturesque appearance. The forest was here so

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dense, that only the spot where the vizier himself encamped together with his own followers was free from brushwood, while all the other people were first obliged to clear the ground with much trouble. This was the first day, since our setting out, that we made a tolerable march. The whole manner in which the expedition was conducted was an unmistakable proof of an effeminate court, especially if we take into account the principle of carrying on war in these countries, where only sudden inroads can insure any great success. In the evening there arrived a small complimentary present from A'dishén, the tributary Músgu chief, consisting of five horses and twenty oxen. But while in this manner the more influential men in the army were well supplied with food, the greater part were very badly off, and most of them were reduced to the core of the dúmbush or ngílle, which by the Bórnu people is facetiously called "kúmbu bíllabe," "the food of the country town." But a good sportsman might have obtained better food for himself, and we even got a small ostrich egg from the vizier.

It was a great pity that we had purposely avoided the more frequented and general road, which passes by several settlements of the Fúlbe or Felláta, in order not to give any trouble to the latter; for no doubt that tract would have been far more interesting, as well from a natural point of view, as with regard to the political state of the country, as it would have given us the clearest insight into the way

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in which that enterprising and restless people is pushing on every day more and more, and strangling, as it were, the little kingdom of Mándará.

Monday, December 22nd. Dense forest continued to prevail during the first five miles of our march. It then cleared, and was succeeded by considerable fields of wild rice, most of which was burnt down; for, as I have repeatedly had occasion to mention, all these wildernesses of Central Africa are set on fire after the rainy season. The whole ground in this district was one uninterrupted succession of holes made by the foot of the elephant, which obstructed the march of the army very considerably, and was the reason of several horses being lamed. Sálah, a younger brother of the vizier, a very intelligent man, broke his arm. A herd of six elephants was in the neighbourhood, and after a great deal of confusion, one animal, which got between the horsemen, was killed. It is no wonder that these regions are so frequented by them, as they find here plenty of the choicest food. The jungles of wild rice were only interrupted for a short time by a tract covered with dúm-bush. Water was plentiful, every now and then a considerable pond appearing, girt by beautiful trees, and at present enlivened by groups of horsemen, who were watering their animals.

After a march of about fifteen miles we encamped close to a larger sheet of water, which was full of fish of the species called "bégeli," and enabled us to give to our food that day more variety, the forest, as

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well as the water, contributing its share; for, besides the fish, we had roast hare and elephant's flesh, which was very palatable, and much like pork.

Three heavy strokes upon the drum, at the dawn of day, set our motley host once more in motion. It was an important day, and many of the principal people had exchanged their common dress for a more splendid attire. We entered the Músgu country, and at the same time came into contact with fragments of that nation, who, having spread from the far west over the one half of Africa, are restlessly pushing forward and overwhelming the pagan tribes in the interior. These are the Fúlbe or Felláta, the most interesting of all African tribes, who, having been driven from Bórnu, have here laid the foundation of a new empire. Tuesday, December 28rd.

Twice on our march we were obliged to make a halt: the first time owing to the arrival of A'dishén, the Músgu chief, with a troop of naked horsemen mounted on a breed of small, unseemly, but strong ponies, without saddles and bridles, and presenting altogether a most barbarous and savage spectacle. The second halt was caused by the appearance of a Púllo or Felláta chief, with two hundred horsemen of his nation, who, by their shirts and shawls, their saddles and bridles, certainly claimed a higher degree of civilization, but who, nevertheless, were far from exhibiting a grand appearance. This chief was an officer of Khúrsu, the ruler of the town or principality

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of Fétte or Pétte, which we had left at a short distance to the west. He came to join this expedition, the object of which was to weaken the Músgu tribes, who, behind their natural defences of rivers and swamps, had hitherto been able to maintain their independence.

Of course, on this occasion the policy of these Fúlbe chiefs went hand in hand with that of the Bórnu people, although it is not a little remarkable, and serves to show the slight political unity existing between the integral parts of these empires, that while the governor of A'damáwa was at present on a hostile footing with the ruler of Bórnu, one of his vassals was allowed to enter into an alliance with the latter.

After these interruptions we pursued our march, and reached, about half an hour before noon, the northernmost of the Músgu villages, which is called Gábari, surrounded by rich fields of native grain; but everything presented a sad appearance of pillage and desolation. None of the inhabitants were to be seen; for, although subjects of A'dishén, who enjoyed the friendship and protection of the rulers of Bórnu, they had thought it more prudent to take care of their own safety by flight than to trust themselves to the discretion of the undisciplined army of their friends and protectors. The preceding evening the order had been issued through the encampment that all the property in the villages of A'dishén should be re-

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spected, and nothing touched, from a cow to a fowl, grain only excepted, which was declared to be at the disposal of everybody.

It was rather remarkable that the greatest part of the crops were still standing, although we had been lingering so long on our road, and had given sufficient time for the people to secure them for themselves. All the grain consisted of the red species of holcus, called by the Bórnu people "ngáberi kemé," which grows here to the exclusion of the white species and that of millet. All the people of the army were busy in threshing the grain which they had just gathered at the expense of their friends, and loading their horses with it. Even the fine nutritive grass from the borders of the swamp, which, woven into long festoons, the natives had stored up in the trees as a provision against the dry season, was carried off, and, notwithstanding the express order to the contrary, many a goat, fowl, and even articles of furniture which had been left behind by the natives, fell a prey to the greedy host.

The spectacle of this pillage was the more saddening, as the village not only presented an appearance of comfort, but exhibited in a certain degree the industry of its inhabitants. In general each courtyard contained a group of from three to six huts, according to the number of wives of the owner. The walls of the dwellings, without a single exception, were built of clay, which in the courtyards of the richer people even formed the building-material of the

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fences. The roofs of the cottages were thatched with great care, and at least as well as in any house or village in Bórnu, and far superior to the thatching of the Shúwa. The roofs even exhibited traces of various styles, and perhaps a certain gradation in the scale of society.

Almost every courtyard enclosed a shed, besides the huts, and one granary built of clay, and from twelve to fifteen feet high, with an arched roof, likewise of clay, there being an opening at the top which was protected by a small cover of thatching, as the accompanying woodcut shows. The way in which the natives had stored up their supply of hay for the dry season was very remarkable, the rank grass being woven into festoons of about fifteen feet in length, and hung up in the kórna-trees which adorned the fields.

Having roved about at my leisure, I pursued my march, and, emerging from the corn-fields, entered upon open meadow-grounds, partly under water, which spread out to a considerable extent, and which, with their fresh green turf, formed a beautiful contrast to the tall yellow crops which I had just left behind. Ascending a little, we kept straight towards a group of splendid trees which adorned the fields in front of another village. The village was called Kórom, and belonged to a chief under the authority of A'dishén, while Kadé, the residence of the latter, was only at a

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short distance. In these fields the vizier had dismounted and chosen the place for the encampment; and it was with a sad, sympathetic feeling that I witnessed the lopping of the rich branches of the fine trees, which were without doubt the most splendid specimens of the karáge-tree which I had seen in Negroland, not excepting those in the Marghí country. The largest among them measured not less than eighty feet in height, and the diameter of their crown could scarcely be less; but the foliage of this tree is by no means so dense and so regularly shaped as that of the fig or tamarind-tree. None of these fine trees, which had adorned the landscape, escaped destruction, in order to provide fences for the larger tents; but the few monkey-bread trees which here appeared, owing to the scanty foliage with which their gigantic branches were decked out, escaped unhurt.

Here we remained the two following days, and the encampment became very confined, the more so as the ground was rather uneven. The delay could scarcely be defended in a strategetical point of view, as it could not but serve to put all the neighbouring chiefs, who were hostile to A'dishén, on their guard against any sudden inroad. But it was well that they did so, as by a sudden inroad the poor persecuted natives might have been totally annihilated.

In order to employ my leisure hours, I looked about for information respecting the country we had just

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entered, and was fortunate enough to collect some valuable data.*

The Músgu, or Músekú, are a division of the great nation of the Mása†, which comprises the Kótoko, or Mákari, the people of Logón, or Lógone, the Mándará, or U'r Wándalá, with the Gámerghú, and the large tribe of the Bátta, and probably even that of the Mbána. Of these tribes the most intimately related to the Músgu are the people of Logón, who, as we shall soon have occasion to show, are nothing but a section which has quite recently separated from the parent stock, and constituted itself as a distinct community, owing to its higher state of civilization.

* I here give a list of the chief principalities and places of the Músgu country. First, at a short distance east from Kadé, the residence of A'dishén, there is a place called Máyum; then a small place called Mága; then Bárka, at present deserted; Masánafa, residence of the prince Asánafay, after whom the whole principality is called; Márabná; I'ka; Búlno; Mákalné, probably originally the residence of a prince Akalné, but at present the residence of the powerful chief Kábishmé; Surán; Mázaga, the residence of a powerful chief who generally, after the name of the whole principality, is named Fúss, but whose real name seems to be Ngoimáta; Lúggoy; Bárea; Búgunla, with a chief Hyyúm; Mbogtám; Boiboy; Kubásemí, with a prince Márgo; Kalán; Ngelmóng; Mórom, with a chief Saderánza; Búllum; Bége; Mádalang; Kásway, which on our farther march we left a little to the east; the principality Kákala; Dwán or Adwán, towards the south-west; Gemáy, a large place, south-east; Wúliya; Démmo; A'udege; Agsé. Some of these places are districts, which we shall touch at in the course of the expedition; the position of the others I am not able to fix with certainty.

† The Bagírmi people, even at the present day, call the Músgu by the name Mása Músekú.

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Amongst the various divisions of the Kótoko, Ngála and Klésem seem to be most nearly related to the Músgu.

However insignificant the tribe of the Músgu may appear in the eyes of the European, the dialects of the various communities into which it is split, owing to the hostile manner in which they are opposed to one another, and their entire want of friendly intercourse, differ so much that, as I was assured the people of Lúggoy have great difficulty in understanding those of Wúliya and Démmo. Unfortunately I had no opportunity of collecting specimens of the other dialects besides that spoken by the people of Lúggoy. Their principal "sáfi," or fetish, consists in a long spear-like pole, similar to that of the Marghí; but nevertheless there seems to be a considerable difference in their superstitious worship, for, while with the Marghí the pole appears to be rather a symbol than an image of the deity, and the real worship is attached to the sacred locality, with the Músgu tribes I did not see a single specimen of a sacred grove. The Músgu call their fetish "kefé."

In the afternoon I attended some time at the vizier's, and here made the acquaintance of an interesting and adventurous old man of the name of Málem Jémme, or Jýmma, who took the principal part in the conversation. The history of this man is highly characteristic, as showing what a large field is open to the ambition of enterprising Mohammedans in the pagan states to the south. Threat-

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ened with capital punishment by the old sheikh, that is to say, Mohammed el Amín el Kánemi, on account of his disobedience, this Shúwa chieftain had fled to the pagans, and had there succeeded in establishing gradually, by his own energy and mental superiority, a small principality; but at present, for some reason or other, he had been expelled and had recourse to the vizier of Bórnu for assistance to recover his former power. His great knowledge of the country and the different tribes which inhabited it, made him a welcome guest; but as for himself, he did not succeed in his ambitious projects. In reference to my expedition to A'damáwa, I have already made use of the authority of this man, in giving an account of the route which connects the southernmost point on our expedition to Músgu with the places fixed by me along the river Bénuwé.

The mallem was not very communicative; and unfortunately I had no handsome present to make him, or else I might have learned from him an immense deal with regard to the geography and character of these countries, which I have no doubt, not long hence, will become of considerable importance to Europeans. For while these regions, situated between the rivers Bénuwé and Shári, seem to be extremely rich and fertile, and capable — on account of the uniform level of their unbroken plains — of the highest state of cultivation, they are the most accessible, on account of the extensive water-communication, which, rendered available by the application of

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a very small degree of art and industry, will open an easy access into the heart of Central Africa. Of course, after the rainy season, when all these countless watercourses, which intersect the country in every direction, and, without any apparent inclination, inundate the country, the climate in the plains cannot be very healthy; but isolated mountains and hills are scattered by the hand of nature through these luxuriant plains, capable of affording more healthy localities for settlements.

Owing to the presence of the adventurer just mentioned, the conversation that evening was very animated, till at length the courtiers, or "kokanáwa," withdrew behind the curtains of the vizier's tent, in order to take a little refreshment. I then took my leave; but I had only gone a short distance when I was called back, being informed that it would no doubt be interesting to me to witness an audience of A'dishén, the Músgu chief, who was just about to pay his respects to the commander-in-chief. I therefore returned to the vizier's tent, where the courtiers had again taken their post, according to their rank and station, on each side of their leader.

After a short time the Músgu chief arrived, accompanied by his three brothers, mounted, as is their custom, upon horses without saddle or bridle. Great numbers of people had collected in front of the tent, and saluted him with scoffs and importunities; but the pagan chief did not allow himself to be put out of countenance by the insolence of the slaves, but per-

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served his princely dignity. At length the curtains of the spacious tent were drawn back, and in came the native prince. He was of a short stout figure, and rather mild, but not very prepossessing features, and apparently between fifty and sixty years of age. He wore a black tobe, but no trowsers, and was bare-headed. Kneeling on the ground, and clapping his hands, while he repeated the complimentary words, "Alla ngúbberu degá" (God give you long life)! according to the custom of the "katí gótsin," he took up sand and sprinkled it upon his head; but as soon as he had gone through this form of abject submission, he assumed his character as a native chief. Thus, at once he complained of his western neighbours, the Fúlbe or Felláta, or, as the Músgu people call them, Chógchogo; for they, he said, had anticipated the vizier of Bórnu, carrying off cattle and other things from his territory. The Bórnu chief assured him that for the future he should not be exposed to such injustice, but that he was entirely under the protection of Bórnu. He then made a sign, and some parcels were opened, and A'dishén was officially installed as a vassal and officer of Bórnu. First, he was dressed in an elephant-shirt — the large black shirt from Núfe, — over which a rich silk tobe was thrown, and over all an Egyptian shawl, while the self-conceited courtiers, in their proud consciousness of a higher state of civilization, treated him with contempt and scorn. My cheerful old friend Kashélla Belál, who had decked him out in this finery, paid him the

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usual compliments, exclaiming "Ngúbberu degá maína, ngúbberu degá maína," maína being the title of the governor of a province.

Thus this petty pagan chief had become, in an official style, a kind of officer of Bórnu, and in this manner was alone capable of preserving his unenviable existence, at what sacrifices we shall soon see. The Músgu nation is situated so unfavourably, surrounded by enemies on all sides, that, even if they were linked together by the strictest unity, they would scarcely be able to preserve their independence. How, then, should they be able to withstand their enemies, separated as they are into numerous petty dominions, and having no further object than to enslave and pillage their neighbours and kinsmen? Nothing but the number of swampy watercourses which intersect the country in all directions, and during the greater part of the year render it impassable for hostile armies, while even during the remaining part the principal rivers afford natural lines of defence, behind which the inhabitants may seek refuge, can explain how the country is so well peopled as it is, although the intervening tracts have been already laid waste.

Towards the north there are the Kanúri, powerful by their numerous cavalry and the advantage of firearms; towards the west and south-west the restless Fúlbe continually advancing; towards the north-east the people of Logón, originally their near kinsmen, but at present opposed to them by difference

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of religion; towards the east, the wild Bágrimma people, proud of their supposed preeminence in religion, and eager for the profits of the slave-trade. All these people hunting them down from every quarter, and carrying away yearly hundreds, nay even thousands of slaves, must in the course of time exterminate this unfortunate tribe.

To-day was Christmas-day; and my companion and I, in conformity with a custom of our native town, tried in vain to procure some fish for a more luxurious entertainment in the evening. The meat of giraffes, which formed the greatest of our African luxuries, was not to be obtained; and as for elephant's flesh, which we *were* able to get, although we both liked it, we had too sadly experienced its bad effect upon the weak state of our bowels to try it again. Hence, in order to celebrate the evening, we were reduced to coffee and milk, with which we regaled ourselves.

We remained here the following day, under the pretext that the Fúlbe, who had joined us, had not yet had an audience; but although the effeminate courtiers were averse to any great exertion, the bulk of the army, who had neither pay, nor were allowed to plunder in order to obtain their necessary supplies, were not very well pleased with this delay, and caused a great uproar while marching in battle-order before the tents of their chiefs, and giving vent to their feelings by shaking and beating their shields. On former expeditions the light troops of the Shúwa

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and Kánembú had always been allowed to march some distance in advance of the army in order to supply their wants; but on this occasion a strict order had been issued that no one should go in advance.

In the afternoon Mr. Overweg went to pay a visit to A'dishén at his residence in Kadé, which was about half an hour's march distant towards the south. He returned in the evening with a present of a goat, but did not seem to be greatly pleased with his excursion; and it could scarcely be otherwise, for while these pagans, who were obliged to disown all national feeling, could scarcely show themselves in their true character, and unreserved in their national manners, in the presence of such an army, it could not but lower us in the eyes of our companions to have too many dealings with these pagans, as they were apt to confound us with them. To be regarded as a "kerdi" my companion cared little about: but I was not much inclined to be identified as such, and it could certainly reflect no honour on the character of our mission.

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CHAP. XLIV.

THE COUNTRY OF THE SHALLOW RIVERS.—WATER-PARTING BETWEEN THE RIVERS BÉNUWÉ AND SHÁRI.

Friday, December 26th. AT length we went onward to pursue our march, turning considerably out of our road towards the east, in order to avoid the residence of A'dishén, and to prevent its being pillaged. The army, proceeding in several large detachments, presented an interesting aspect. Here also green crops of the winter corn, or "másakwá," were still standing in the fields. Further on we came to open pasture-grounds, and after a march of about ten miles we reached a village called Bógo, where we encamped. All the inhabitants had made their escape, although their chief, whose name is Bakshámi, was an ally and friend of A'dishén. The cottages were well built, but there was a great scarcity of trees. Amongst the furniture was a fishing-basket, or, as the Kanúri call it, "káyan;" and some of them were filled with dried paste of the red species of holcus, which however the people were afraid to touch, lest it might be poisoned. On a former expedition several people had been poisoned by a pot of honey which had been left behind, on purpose, by the natives in their

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flight. Already on this day's march we had observed, in the distance towards the west, an isolated rocky mount; and here we saw it in more distinct outlines, while beyond, at a greater distance, the continuous mountain-chain of Mándará became slightly visible.

Saturday, December 27th.

Our march at first led through a dense forest, after which we emerged upon more open swampy meadow-lands covered with rank grass, and full of holes caused by the footprints of the elephant. Great quantities of Guinea fowl were caught. Only here and there an isolated mimosa interrupted the unbroken line of the savanna.

It was after a march of six miles that we obtained a sight of the first deléb-palm in the Músgu country. Already repeatedly in the narrative of my travels I have called the attention of the reader to this beautiful fan-palm; but in all the localities where I had before observed it, it was rather isolated. Even in A'damáwa it is limited to peculiarly favoured localities, while in some extensive provinces of that country, such as Búban-jídda, it is wanting entirely. But here we had reached the country where this beautiful and useful tree, probably only a variety of the famous *Borassus flabelliformis*, is the most common and predominant representative of the vegetable kingdom. The Músgu call it in their language "úray." From the Músgu country it seems to spread in an almost uninterrupted and unbroken line through the southern provinces of Bagírmi and Wadáy, as far as Kordofán, sending a few scouts and forerunners to adorn

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the capital of Bagírmi and the watercourse of the Bat-há.

We chose our encampment in a village called Bárea, consisting of scattered huts, and surrounded by rich stubble-fields, which were shaded by large wide-spreading karáge trees, presenting a most cheerful and comfortable scene. But we soon became aware that the fertility and beauty of this district were due to the neighbourhood of a large sheet of water full of crocodiles and river horses or "ngurútu," and enlivened even by a few small canoes. It had been indicated already on our march by the flight of numerous waterfowl passing over our heads. Beautiful as the country was, however, the place was deserted, the inhabitants having given up their cheerful homes, and left the tombs of their worshipped ancestors to the discretion of the hostile army, in order to seek safety in flight. The village is the residence of a chieftain of the name of Musíkko, who acknowledges Kábishmé, the chief mentioned above, as his sovereign lord.

In the afternoon I received a short visit from a rather shabby sort of man, the chief of a place called Médebé, but who was an object of interest to me, as he had been sent as a messenger to the prince of Mándará, and had just arrived in the encampment from the capital of that little country. Travelling at a comfortable rate, he had arrived in three days from Morá, sleeping the first night in the place called Mókoshi, the second in Fétte, the place above-mentioned,

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and from thence to-day had reached this place; but the whole journey, in an expeditious march, may easily be accomplished in two days. Difficult as it would be to me to impart to the reader the delight which I always felt in tracing my routes from one point to another, and joining two places with which I had become acquainted, by new itineraries, he may forgive me for sometimes troubling him with these geographical details.

Sunday, December 28th.

We did not spend our Sunday in a quiet contemplative manner; but nevertheless we spent it worthily, employing it in a good day's march, which opened out to us new and important features of the character of the new region we had just entered. It was a pity we were not allowed by circumstances to proceed in our real character of peaceful travellers, anxious to befriend all the people with whom we came in contact, instead of being obliged to join this host of merciless and sanguinary slave-hunters, who, regardless of the beauty of the country and the cheerful happiness of the natives, were only intent upon enriching themselves with the spoil of the inhabitants.

After a march of a little less than five miles, we emerged from the thick forest, and entered upon stubble-fields with numerous groups of huts and wide-spreading trees, whose branches were all used for storing up the ranks of nutritious grass of these swampy grounds, for a supply in the dry season. The country was pleasant in the extreme. Several

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artificial ponds enlivened the hamlet, and called to mind similar scenes in my native country, except that ducks and geese were wanting. The only scenes of active life which were at present to be seen were those of pillage and destruction.

The architecture of the huts, and the whole arrangement of the yards, was very similar to that of the village we had first seen on entering the country. But the tops of the granaries in general were here provided with a sort of "fennel," covered in by a roof of straw. Broad well-trodden paths, lined by thick fences of a peculiar bush called "mágara" in Kanúri, which I have mentioned in another locality*, were winding along through the fields in every direction. But there was one object which attracted my attention in particular, as it testified to a certain degree of civilization, which might have shamed the proud Mohammedan inhabitants of these countries. For while the latter are extremely negligent in burying their dead, leaving them without any sufficient protection against the wild beasts, so that most of them are devoured in a few days by the hyænas, here we had regular sepulchres, covered in with large well-rounded vaults, the tops of which were adorned by a couple of

* In the view of this scenery which the artist has made from my sketch, it has been thought fit not to represent the moment of destruction, but a preceding one of the quiet life of the natives; the approaching misfortune being only indicated by the column of smoke in the background. The man sitting on the sepulchre is meant to represent the first glimmer of Islám brought to these people by some wandering mállem.

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[illegible] called to [illegible] country, except that [illegible] The only scenes of [illegible] present to be seen were [illegible]

[illegible] and the whole ar- [illegible] very similar to that of [illegible] entering the country [illegible] in general were here [illegible] covered in by a roof [illegible] paths, lined by thick [illegible] "magara" in Kanfiri, [illegible] in another locality*, [illegible] the fields in every direction [illegible] object which attracted my a ten- [illegible] as it testified to a certain degree of [illegible] have shamed the proud Mo- [illegible] countries. For while [illegible] in burying their [illegible] sufficient protection [illegible] that most of them are de- [illegible] by the hyænas, here we had [illegible] in with large well rounded [illegible] by a couple of

* [illegible] the artist has made from [illegible] moment [illegible] the natives; [illegible] fortune being [illegible] indicated by the column [illegible] The [illegible] first glimmer of Islam brought to these [illegible]

Drawn by J M Bernatz from a Sketch by Dr Barth

M A N Hanhart lith et imp

M U S G U.
Decr 28th 1851.

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beams cross-laid, or by an earthen urn. The same sort of worship as paid by these pagans to their ancestors prevails in a great part of Africa, and however greatly the peculiar customs attached to the mode of worship may vary, the principle is the same; but I nowhere more regretted having no one at hand to explain to me the customs of these people, than I did on this occasion. The urn most probably contains the head of the deceased; but what is indicated by the cross-laid beams I cannot say.

I was so absorbed in contemplating this interesting scene, that I entirely forgot my own personal safety; for the vizier, without my becoming aware of it, had pursued the track on his powerful charger at an uncommonly quick rate, and was far in advance. Looking around me, I found only a small number of Shúwa horsemen near me, and keeping close to them pursued the path; but when we emerged from the thick forest, and entered another well-cultivated and thickly-peopled district, every trace of a trodden footpath ceased, and I became aware that I was entirely cut off from the main body of the army. A scene of wild disorder here presented itself. Single horsemen were roving about to and fro between the fences of the villages; here a poor native, pursued by sanguinary foes, running for his life in wild despair; there another dragged from his place of refuge; while a third was observed in the thick covert of a ficus, and soon became a mark for numerous arrows and balls. A small troop of Shúwa horsemen were collected under

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the shade of a tree, trying to keep together a drove of cattle, which they had taken. In vain did I address Shúwa and Kanúri, anxiously inquiring what direction the commander-in-chief had taken; nobody was able to give me any information with regard to his whereabouts. I therefore scoured the village in all directions, to see if I could find by myself the track of the army; but the traces ran in every direction.

Here I fell in with several troops of horsemen, in the same state of uncertainty as myself, and joined one of them, where there were some heavy cavalry; neither the attendants of the vizier, nor the man who carried his carpet, could tell which direction he had taken. While anxiously looking about, I suddenly heard behind us the beating of a drum or "gánga," and following the sound found a considerable number of horsemen, of every description, collected on an open area; and here I received the exciting news that the pagans had broken through the line of march at the weakest point, and that while the vizier had pursued his track, the rear had been dispersed. If these poor pagans, who certainly are not wanting in courage, were led on by experienced chieftains, and waited for the proper opportunity, they would be able in these dense forests, where cavalry is scarcely of any use, to do an immense deal of damage to this cowardly host, and might easily disperse them altogether. But the principal reason of the weakness of these Músgu tribes is, that they have only spears

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and the "góliyó," and no arrows; else they would certainly be able to keep these troublesome neighbours at a respectful distance. Of what little use even the firelock is to the latter, I had ample opportunity of judging, several musketeers having come to me anxiously entreating me to provide them with flints, as their own had been lost or had proved useless.

At length the motley host moved on without order or array; but their irresolution and fear, owing to a few pagans who were concealed in a thicket, were so great, that after a while we retraced our steps. Having then taken a more easterly direction, we reached, through a thick forest, a large swampy piece of water in low meadow-grounds, not less than a mile in breadth, covered with rank grass, the dry ground in some places intervening. Here I found a considerable part of the cavalry, drawn up in a long line and watering their horses, and I learned that the encampment was near. It would have been very unsatisfactory to be exposed to a serious attack in the company of the disorderly host in which I had lately found myself.

Having watered my horse, I followed the deep sound of the big drum of the vizier, and found the body of the army a few hundred yards from the eastern border of this ngáljam, in rich stubble-fields shaded by beautiful trees; but as yet no tent was pitched, and a great deal of anxiety prevailed, the first camels having arrived without their loads, which they had thrown off, their drivers having taken to

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flight; but this circumstance ensured the safety of the greater part of the train, as the commander immediately despatched two officers with their squadrons to bring up the rear. To this circumstance we were indebted for the safety of our own camels, which had been in imminent danger, the pagans having collected again in the rear of the principal body of the army.

The Bórnu camels are half mehára, and, while they surpass in strength the camels of the desert, possess a great deal of their swiftness. Not only does the camel which carries the war-drum always follow close behind the commander, at whatever rate he may pursue his march, but even his other camels generally keep at a very short distance, and the best camels of the courtiers follow close behind.

The village we had just reached was named Kákalá, and is one of the most considerable places in the Músgu country. A large number of slaves had been caught this day; and in the course of the evening, after some skirmishing, in which three Bórnu horsemen were killed, a great many more were brought in: altogether they were said to have taken one thousand, and there were certainly not less than five hundred. To our utmost horror, not less than one hundred and seventy full-grown men were mercilessly slaughtered in cold blood, the greater part of them being allowed to bleed to death, a leg having been severed from the body. Most of them were tall men, with not very pleasing features. Their forehead, instead of shelving backwards, was generally very high, and

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the line of the face straight; but their thick eyelashes, wide, open nostrils, thick lips, high cheek-bones, and coarse bushy hair, gave them a very wild appearance. The proportions of the legs, with the knee-bone bent inward, were particularly ugly; and on the whole they were more bony than the Marghí. They were all of a dirty black colour, very far from that glossy lustre which is observed in other tribes. Most of them wore a short beard. The ears of several were adorned with small copper rings, while almost all of them wore round their necks a thick rope made of the dúm-bush or ngílle, coarsely twisted, as a sort of ornament.

Soon after setting out from the place of encampment, we had to cross the ngáljam, which here also was thickly overgrown with rank grass, and the passage of which was very difficult, owing to the countless holes caused by the footprints of the elephant. We then entered a dense forest, where I saw again, for the first time, my old Háusa acquaintance, the kókia, a middle-sized tree with large leaves and with a fruit of the size of an apple, which at present was green, but even when ripe is not edible. This tree, in the course of the expedition, I found to be very common in the wilds of this country. Monday, December 29th.

The unwarlike spirit of our large army became more apparent than ever by to-day's proceedings: for a vigorous commander would certainly have accelerated his march through this forest, in order to take

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the enemy unawares; but long before noon a halt was ordered in the midst of the forest — certainly against the inclination of the majority. There was a great deal of indecision; and in truth there seemed to be many who wished rather that the enemy should have time to escape, than to incite him to make a desperate struggle for his safety. The neighbouring pond (where, on our arrival, a herdsman who had come to water his cattle had been slain), we were told, did not contain a sufficient supply of water for the wants of the whole army; and when at length we had fairly dismounted, the rank grass being burnt down in order to clear the ground, and the fire being fed by a strong wind, a terrible conflagration ensued, which threw us into the greatest confusion, and obliged us to seek our safety in a hasty retreat. Nevertheless, after a great deal of hesitation, it was at length determined to encamp here. There was no scarcity of water — for the pond proved to be very spacious and of great depth; but the grass having been burned, the whole ground was covered with a layer of hot ashes, which blackened everything.

By and by the camels arrived, the encampment was formed, and every one had given himself up to repose of mind and body, when suddenly the alarm-drums were beaten, and everybody hastened to arms, and mounted his horse. It seemed incredible that an enemy whose movements were uncombined, and not directed by any good leaders, should attack such an army, of more than 10,000 cavalry, and a still greater

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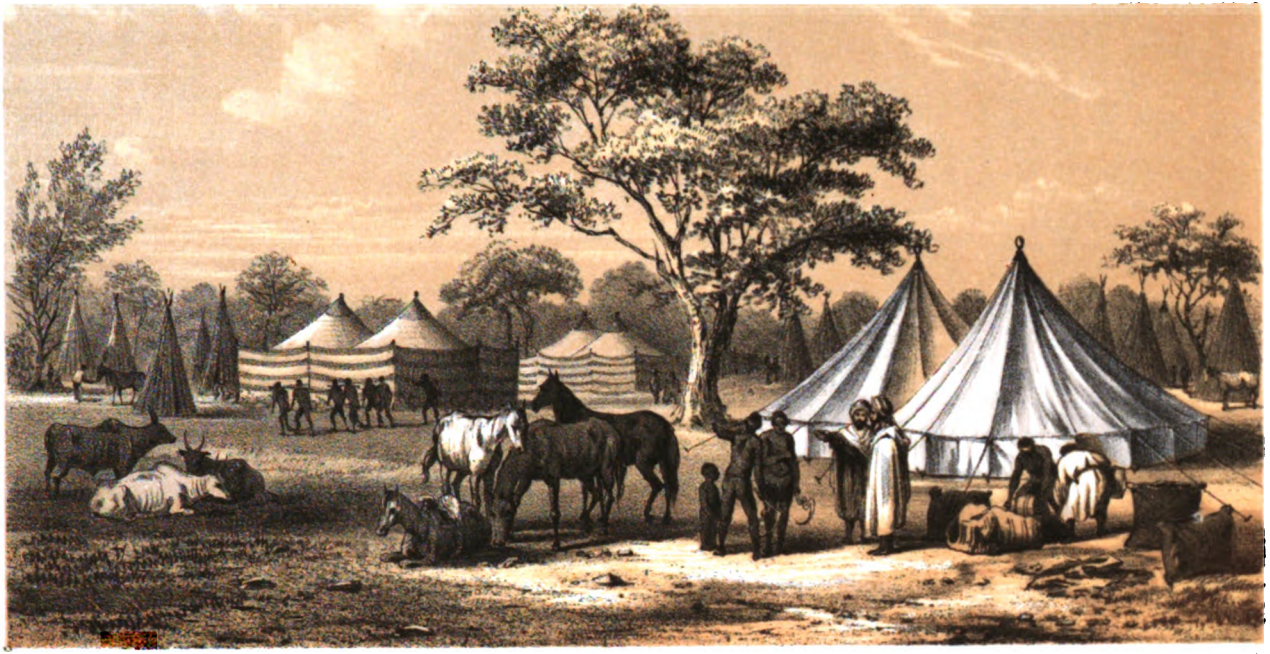

Drawn by J. M. Bernatz from a Sketch by Dr Barth.

ENCAMPMENT IN THE FOREST
Jany 1850

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number of foot, although I am persuaded that a resolute attack of a few hundred brave men would have defeated the whole of this vain and cowardly host. The alarm, as was to be expected, proved unfounded; but it showed the small degree of confidence which the people had in their own strength. Three pagan women had been seen endeavouring to reach the water by stealth; and this gave rise to the conclusion that the enemy was near, for the dense forest all around hemmed in the view entirely.

When at length the encampment had resumed its former state of tranquillity, the prince A'dishén, with a numerous suite of naked followers, came to my tent, and I requested him to enter; there was, however, nothing attractive or interesting about him, and I was glad to get rid of him with a few presents. The difference between the Marghí and Músgu, notwithstanding the affinity indicated by their language and some of their manners, is indeed great, and is, as I have already intimated above, rather to the disadvantage of the latter, whose forms exhibit less of symmetry, and whose features have a very wild and savage appearance. Neither in these Músgu courtiers, nor in the common people, had I observed any of those becoming ornaments, especially those iron arm-rings, which I have mentioned in describing the Marghí.

A'dishén had shaved his head, in order to give to himself the appearance of a Moslim, and wore a tobe; but of his companions, only one had adopted this

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foreign garment, all the others having their loins girt with a leather apron. In order to keep themselves on horseback, they have recourse to a most barbarous expedient. They make a broad open wound on the back of their small sturdy ponies, in order to keep their seat; and, when they want to ride at full speed, they often scratch or cut their legs, in order to glue themselves to the horse's flanks by means of the blood which oozes from the wounds: for, as I have stated above, they have neither saddle, stirrups, nor bridle, and they use nothing but a simple rope to guide their animals. They generally carry only one spear, but several "góliyó"s or hand-bills, the latter being evidently their best weapon, not only in close fight, but even at a distance, as they are very expert in throwing this sharp and double-pointed iron sideways, and frequently inflict severe wounds on the legs of horses as well as of men. Some of their chiefs protect their persons with a strong doublet made of buffalo's hide, with the hair inside.*

Tuesday, Dec. 30th. This was the last day's march which our expedition was to make towards the south, or rather south-east. For the first ten or eleven miles we kept through dense forest, the thick covert of which rendered it difficult for us to make our way, while the restless and vicious Bórnu horses, crowded together and hemmed in by the thicket,

* A chief dressed in this manner is represented in Plate No. 30.

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repeatedly came into most unpleasant collision; and here again I was much indebted to my massive stirrups, which bravely kept their ground against bush and man. The whole forest consisted of middle-sized trees, the kókia being predominant, while scarcely a single tree of larger size was to be seen. It seemed very natural that all the wild animals should flee before such a host of people; but I was astonished at the scarcity of ant-hills, notwithstanding the great degree of moisture which prevails in these extensive levels, and which is so favourable to the existence of this insect.

Our march the whole morning had been straight for Dáwa, the village of the Túfuri or Túburi, a section of the great tribe of the Farí or Falí, of which I have spoken in a former part of my narrative.

There had been a great deal of discussion in the last day's council as to the expediency of attacking this place, the subjection, or rather destruction of which was of great importance, not only to Mállem Jýmma, but even to the Fúlbe settled in the eastern districts of A'damáwa in general. This party at last had gained the upper hand over the greater part of the cowardly Kanúri courtiers; but at present, when we approached the seat of this tribe, who are well known to be warlike, and when the question arose whether we should engage in battle with these people in three or four hours' time, it became rather a serious affair. When, therefore, after a march of four hours, we reached a beautiful fresh

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meadow-water or "ngáljam" overgrown with rank grass, surrounded by large spreading ngábbore trees, which pleasantly diversified the monotonous forest, we made a halt, and while the horsemen watered their animals, an animated "nógona," or council, was held in the shade of a beautiful fig-tree. Here it was decided that, at least to-day, we should not march against Dáwa and the Túburi, but were to change our course more to the eastward in the direction of Démmo. It is probable that the vizier on this occasion promised to his friends, that after he had taken up his head-quarters at Démmo, and deposited safely, in the fortified encampment, the spoil that he had already made in slaves and cattle, he would march against Dáwa; but unfortunately, or rather luckily for the inhabitants, it was not our destiny to visit that interesting and important place, as I shall soon have occasion to mention.

During our halt here I contemplated, with the most lively and intense interest, the rich and animated scene which presented itself before my eyes, — a mass of some thousand horsemen, dressed in the most varied manner and in the most glowing colours, with their spirited chargers of every size, description, and colour, crowded together along the green margin of a narrow sheet of water, skirted by a dense border of large trees of the finest foliage.

After a halt of about a quarter of an hour we were again in the saddle, and pursued our march, but now in an entirely different direction, keeping almost due

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east, and crossing the shallow watercourse, which stretched from north to south a little below our halting-place, the place where we crossed it being quite dry, and full of holes caused by the footsteps of the elephant. The wilderness for a while was clearer; but after a march of about two miles we reached a very thick covert, where it was found necessary to send out scouts, in order to see if the enemy was lying in ambush. It is a great pity that these poor natives do not know how to avail themselves, against their cruel and cowardly enemies, of the fastnesses with which nature has endowed these regions. Of course these immense forests, which separate one principality, and I might say one village, from another, are themselves a consequence of the want of intelligence and of the barbarous blindness of these pagan tribes, who, destitute of any common bond of national unity, live entirely separated from, and even carry on war against each other.

Scarcely had we made ourselves a path through the thicket, when we reached another meadow-water, which at present, however, looked rather like a bog, and offered some difficulties to the passage of the horses. Having then for some time kept upon dry ground, about noon we had to cross another swamp; but beyond this the country became open.

Having now reached the place of our destination, the banners were unfolded, the drums beaten, and the greater part of the cavalry hurried on in advance ready for fighting, or rather for pillage, for no enemy was

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to be seen. Immediately afterwards we reached the village of Démmo, and marched slowly along, looking out for the best place for encamping. Numerous deléb-palms became visible behind the shady acacias, when suddenly we obtained sight of a broad shallow watercourse, larger than any we had yet seen in this country — more than two miles in width, with a considerable sheet of open water, where two pagan canoes were seen moving about.

Greatly interested in the scene, we closely approached the edge of the water, which seemed to be of considerable depth, although a number of hungry Kánembú had passed the first open sheet, and were fishing in its more shallow part, which divided the open water into two branches. From beyond the opposite shore a whole forest of deléb-palms were towering over the other vegetation of lower growth, as if enticing us to come and enjoy their picturesque shade. The direction of the watercourse at this spot was from S.W. to N.E.; and, according to the unanimous statement of those who had any knowledge of these regions, it joins the Serbéwuel, that is to say the upper course of the river or "éré" of Logón.

Here we stood awhile, and looked with longing eyes towards the opposite shore; it was a most interesting and peculiar scenery, highly characteristic of these level equatorial regions of Africa. What an erroneous idea had been entertained of these regions in former times! Instead of the massive Mountain-range of the Moon, we had discovered only a few

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Drawn by J. M. Bornatz. From a Sketch by Dr. Barth. M & N. Hanhart lith et Imp.

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isolated mounts; instead of a dry desolate plateau, we had found wide and extremely fertile plains, less than one thousand feet above the level of the sea, and intersected by innumerable broad watercourses with scarcely any inclination. Only towards the south-west, at the distance of about sixteen miles, the low rocky mount of the Túburi was seen.

But not less interesting than the scenery of the landscape was the aspect of the host of our companions, who were here crowded together at the border of the water. Only very few of them had penetrated as far before; and they looked with curiosity and astonishment upon this landscape, while most of them were rather disappointed that the water prevented them from pursuing the poor pagans, the full-grown amongst whom, with few exceptions, had just had time to escape. But a considerable number of female slaves and young children were captured; for the men did not take to flight till they became aware, from the thick clouds of dust which were raised by the army, that it was not one of the small expeditions which they were accustomed to resist, that was coming to attack them. Besides the spoil in human beings, a considerable number of colts and cattle were brought in.

Having indulged in the aspect of this rich scene, which formed such a contrast to the monotonous neighbourhood of Kúkawa, we retraced our steps, in order to encamp at some distance from the water, which of course gives life to millions of mosquitoes, and en-

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camped amongst the smouldering ruins of the huts. The whole village, which only a few moments before had been the abode of comfort and happiness, was destroyed by fire and made desolate. Slaughtered men, with their limbs severed from their bodies, were lying about in all directions, and made the passer-by shudder with horror. Such is the course of human affairs in these regions! Small troops of light cavalry tried to pursue the enemy; and there was some fighting in the course of the afternoon, when a few men of the Bórnu army were killed.

Wednesday, December 31st. We remained here this and the following day, it being the intention of the Bórnu people, according to their own statement, to reduce this country to subjection; and I deeply regretted that the circumstances under which we visited this region did not allow me to collect all the information I wished. But roving about the encampment, I endeavoured to pick up what I could.

All the huts had clay walls, which were from four to six inches thick, and had resisted the conflagration, the roofs, consisting of beams and reed, having fallen in. The diameter of the huts varied from eight to twelve feet. Each hut contained a large jar for holding water, and some had a peculiar fire-place, inclosed by separate walls, and not unlike an oven; but, although in general the arrangement of the huts was comfortable, I found the dwellings in other villages of this country far superior, nor did I observe here such large court-

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yards as I had seen elsewhere. In the centre of the village there were some extensive tanks, or pools of water, which seemed to be made by the hand of man.

The whole encampment, or "ngáufate," was surrounded with a strong fence of thorny bushes, rather for the purpose of preventing the slaves from escaping, than to defend the encampment against an enemy. Having wandered about amidst this scene of destruction, I went in the afternoon to the border of the "ngáljam," which was enlivened by horses and cattle grazing, and people quietly reclining here and there, or bathing in the water.* I then wandered along the bank to some distance, where the sheet of open water on this side was entirely interrupted, while on the other shore a considerable strip of water stretched out before the view.

Here, in Démmo, the year 1852 opened to me, in the course of which I at that time entertained a hope of returning homewards, not fancying that I was to remain three years more in these barbarous countries, amidst constantly varying impressions of discovery, of disappointment, of friendly and hostile treatment, and under all sorts of affliction, distress, and sickness.

Our stay here was varied by a few interesting incidents, one of which I will relate. The intriguing Shúwa chief M'allem Jýmma, whose ambitious designs

* It was here that I made the sketch from which the artist has taken the interesting view of this locality.

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did not allow him any rest, had not only persuaded the head man of Démmo, who had made his escape, but even the chief of the nearest village on the other side of the ngáljam, to make his subjection publicly, and to seek the protection of Bórnu. They were therefore introduced this day into the nógona or council, and threw dust upon their heads. But when they had to confirm their subjection by an oath, the pagan prince of Démmo indeed took an oath, raising a handful of earth, and allowing it to glide through his fingers, but the chief from the other side of the ngáljam refused to take the oath, under the pretext that this earth was not fit for his vow, not being his own soil; he said he must first bring a handful of earth from his own country. An oath taken upon earth that belonged to their native soil was also common among the ancients.

Both chiefs had made their appearance in their native attire, that is to say, quite naked with the exception of a narrow leather strip round their loins; and it caused great merriment to the courtiers, that when, in consequence of their subjection, they were officially dressed in black tobes as a sort of investiture, the chief of Démmo drew his shirt over his head, reckless whether the lower parts were covered or not. In order to amuse the assemblage, they also blew their little horn, an instrument which every Músgu grandee carries with him, and which bears a great resemblance to a bugle; but in this accomplishment a priest who accompanied them was more clever

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than themselves, producing melodious and sonorous sounds from this simple and uncouth instrument.

This was the first and only time that I became aware that these pagan tribes had separate priests; and I felt greatly disappointed that I did not come into closer contact with them, nor was able to learn from other people what were their peculiar duties. But, in general, I think I am not mistaken in supposing that the sacerdotal functions with these tribes of the interior are less developed than those on the coast, for as yet I had seen very little of real fetishism. In general, the office of priest seems to be connected with that of chief.

This man also received a shirt as a present; but it was only a white one of inferior quality, and I do not think he kept it very long after he had left the assemblage of these civilized people.

As the price of the benevolent reception which the prince of Démmo had experienced, he, as is generally the case in these distracted communities, betrayed the interests of his countrymen, promising that he would lead the army to a large walled town (so, at least, he was understood to say), where they were to find plenty of booty and spoil. Accordingly, an expedition on a large scale, which was to be led by the vizier in person, was fixed for the next day.

Having remained quiet for some hours in the morning, probably to make the neighbouring chieftains believe that we had no intention of moving, we suddenly set out, with almost

Friday, January 2nd.

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the whole of the cavalry and a portion of the Kánembú spearmen, led on by our new ally the chief of Démmo, who, mounted on a little pony, clad in his new black garment, presented a very awkward and ridiculous appearance.

The first village which we reached, after about an hour's march through a clear forest, was quite deserted; and it was but natural that all the people around should be upon their guard. The landscape was exceedingly beautiful, richly irrigated and finely wooded, while, to our great astonishment, the ground was so carefully cultivated that even manure had been put upon the fields in a regular manner, being spread over the ground to a great extent — the first example of such careful tillage that I had as yet observed in Central Africa, both among Mohammedans and pagans. The inhabitants had had so much leisure to make their escape, that they had left very little behind to satisfy the greediness of the enemy; and we therefore continued our march without delay, in a north-easterly direction. This whole fertile district bears the name of Wúliya; but I did not learn the peculiar name of this village.

After a march of about four miles, we crossed another watercourse, at present only from ten to fifteen inches deep, and surrounded by beautiful pasture-grounds, which during part of the year are inundated, and must then present the appearance of an extensive lake. This fresh green basin was adorned all around by luxuriant fig and "karáge" trees, and

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slender detached dúm-palms towered picturesquely above the green foliage, but no deléb-palms were to be seen. Then followed another village, likewise deserted by its unfortunate inhabitants, and then again open meadow-lands, intersected by a narrow channel-like watercourse, in a direction from S.W. to N.E.

The watercourse was from sixty to seventy yards broad, and inclosed so regularly between its banks, which were about ten feet high, that it had quite the appearance of an artificial canal,—a peculiarity which in the course of time I frequently observed, not only here, but also in the similar watercourses along the Niger. At the point where we crossed it, the sheet of water was entirely broken by a small sandbank, so that we went over without wetting our feet. However, I conjectured that this was an artificial dyke thrown up by the persecuted natives, in order to keep open an easy connection with the river, on which alone their safety depended. Without any delay the expedition pushed on, in the hope of overtaking the fugitives before they had crossed the river; for here we were quite close to the western shore of the river of Logón, which is generally, but erroneously, called Shári, while this name, which belongs to the language of the Kótokó, and means "river" in general, applies more properly to the larger eastern branch below Klésem, which is inhabited by Kótokó, and to the united stream lower down below the junction of the two branches. In this place the river, or "éré," is called Serbéwuel, I think, in the Músgu language; higher

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up, where we shall make its acquaintance in the course of our further researches, it is called Bá-Gun and Bá-Bay, "bá" being the general name for river in the language of Bagírmi and the native tribes of the Sóm-ray, as well as in the language of the Manding or Mandingoes.

After a short time we stood on the banks of the stream. It was a considerable river even at the present moment, although it was greatly below its highest level, and probably represented the mean depth of the whole year. At present it was about four hundred yards wide, and so deep that six Shúwa horsemen, who, in their eager desire for spoil, had ventured to enter it, were carried away by the stream, and fell an easy prey to about a dozen courageous pagans, who, in a couple of canoes, were gliding up and down the river to see what they could lay their hands upon. They felt that we were unable to follow them without canoes, although for any active body of men it would have been an easy affair to construct a few rafts for crossing over, there being a plentiful supply of timber.

The banks of the river on this side were at present about twenty-five feet high. The opposite shore was not so steep, and from its rich vegetation had a very inviting appearance; but I was glad, for the sake of the poor natives, that we were unable to reach it, and I think even our friend the Háj Beshír looked at this interesting landscape rather with a degree of scientific interest than with anger and disappointment. Un-

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fortunately, on this occasion I had not taken my telescope with me, but I was so fortunate as still to get a sight of this river a little lower down.

Having stood here for a few minutes on the steep bank, looking down into the stream, which rolled unceasingly along, cutting off our further progress, we turned our horses' heads in the direction from which we had come, while our friends endeavoured to soothe their disappointment by saying, that if the pagans had escaped from their hands, they would certainly not fail to fall into the power of their enemies, viz. the pagans who lived on the other side of the river under the protection of Bagírmi.

We thus turned our backs upon the river, my European companion and I greatly satisfied with our day's work, which had afforded us a sight of this fine stream, but our companions, in sullen silence and disappointment, on account of the expected spoil having escaped from their hands. Indeed, where they had expected to find that "El Dorado," that walled town full of male and female slaves, I never succeeded in ascertaining. The whole day's spoil was limited to a handful of slaves — unfortunate creatures whom sickness or ill-advised courage prevented from leaving their native villages, — besides a couple of cattle, a few goats, fowls, and a little corn, but principally groundnuts, of which large quantities were carried off by the hungry Kánembú spearmen.

The whole army was in such a mood as to be glad

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to find any object on which to vent its anger; and such a one soon presented itself, for when we again reached that channel-like watercourse which I have mentioned above, and were watering our horses, four natives were seen, who, evidently confiding in their courage and their skill in swimming, had here taken refuge in the deepest part of the water, in order to give information to their countrymen of the retreat of the enemy. As soon as our friends caught sight of this little troop of heroes, they determined to sacrifice them to their vengeance. With this view, the whole of the cavalry arranged themselves in close lines on each side of the water. But the task was not so easy as it appeared at first; and all the firing of the bad marksmen was in vain, the Músgu diving with remarkable agility. When the vizier saw that in this way these heroes could not be overpowered, he ordered some Kánembú to enter the water; and a very singular kind of combat arose, the like of which I had never seen before, and which required an immense deal of energy, for, while these people had to sustain themselves above the water with the help of their feet, they had at the same time to jump up, throw the spear, and parry the thrusts of their adversaries. The poor Músgu people, on their side, were not only fighting for their lives, but even, as it were, for their national honour. They were of large and muscular frame, single-handed far superior to the Kánembú; but at length, after a protracted struggle, the su-

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perior numbers of the Kánembú got the upper hand, and the corpses of three of the Músgu were seen swimming on the surface of the water. But the fourth and last appeared to be invincible, and the Kánembú, who had lost two of their companions, gave him up in despair.

After this inglorious victory we pursued our march homewards, keeping a little more to the north than when we came. This part of the country exhibited the same fertile and pleasant character as that we had seen before. It was densely inhabited and well cultivated, even tobacco being grown to a great extent. As for the villages themselves, they afforded the same appearance of comfort and cheerfulness which we had observed in the others. But all these abodes of human happiness were destroyed by fire.

After having accomplished these great deeds, we returned to our encampment. Here we remained during the two following days, while the most important business was transacted. This was the partition of the slaves who had been taken during the expedition; and the proceeding was accompanied by the most heartrending scenes, caused by the number of young children, and even infants, who were to be distributed, many of these poor creatures being mercilessly torn away from their mothers, never to see them again. There were scarcely any full-grown men.

More interesting to me than this horrible affair was the sending of a messenger to Kúkawa; and it

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was doubly so on account of the roundabout way which this man had to pursue, the track by which we had come being at present greatly infested by the desperate pagans, who very recently had massacred a whole troop of horse and foot who had come from Kúkawa, with the exception of one, who had succeeded in making his escape. The messengers, therefore, who were now sent, were obliged to take the road leading past the villages of the Fúlbe, going from Démmo to Káfta, the place mentioned in the preceding volume, and from thence to Bógo, whence they were to follow the general track, which I have described on a former occasion. An escort of fifteen Kanúri and two Fúlbe accompanied the two messengers, as their first day's march was very dangerous.

For the last few days there had been a great talk of an expedition, on a large scale, against the Túburi, whither it was said we were to transfer the whole encampment; and I and my companion already anticipated a great deal of delight, as the isolated rocky mount which we had seen on the day of our arrival seemed to be well worthy of notice. But, as I have already stated, the Bórnu people were greatly afraid of this place, the real reason probably being, that they apprehended the pagans might retire upon the top of the mountain, and, having abundance of water in the neighbourhood, offer a successful resistance, although we were told that, on a former occasion, a single kashélla, 'Alí Fugomámi, had extended his expedition as far as that place.

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The Fúlbe, by whom this free pagan community was regarded with great hatred, urged the expedition with the greatest energy; but the cunning vizier pretended afterwards, in a conversation which he had with Overweg and me, that it was purposely, from motives of policy, that he did not accede to this scheme, as he did not want to exterminate this tribe, being unwilling to pull down with his own hands this last barrier to the restless spirit of conquest which the Fúlbe or Felláta displayed. The usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán, evidently from a motive of ambition, in order to be enabled to say that he had penetrated further than his late rival the vizier, whom he had successfully crushed, in the beginning of the rainy season of 1854 pushed on into the very country of the Túburi, and thus enabled Dr. Vogel to lay down that most interesting point by astronomical observation, although the great lake which my friend thought to find there was apparently nothing but a widening of that stagnant watercourse which forms the north-eastern branch of the Bénuwé, namely the máyo Kébbi, and was laid down by me in the map of Central Africa, which I sent home from Kúkawa.

It was at a very early hour on Monday morning, a little after midnight, when the guide of the expedition came to my tent, and, while I was just dreaming of the rocky mountain of the Túburi, whispered in my ear that a distant expedition was to be undertaken that very day, but not into the

January 5th, 1852.

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country of the Túburi, and that the baggage was to remain here. Although I should rather have preferred visiting the latter tract, situated at the north-eastern branch of the basin of the Niger, I nevertheless was determined not to let any opportunity pass by of extending my geographical knowledge as much as possible, and therefore ordered my horse to be saddled. Mr. Overweg meanwhile, when he heard that the vizier was not to lead the expedition in person, but that the young Bú-Bakr, son of the sheikh, was to take the command, remained behind; and as I had no mounted servant, and could not expect that a man on foot would accompany me to a great distance, I was obliged to go quite alone.

Meanwhile the bugles of Bú-Bakr called the warriors together with a soft subdued sound, in order not to allow treachery to spread the news of their plan beforehand. Having passed with some difficulty the narrow gate of the stockade, the expeditionary army formed outside, when we pushed on in a north-easterly direction. But nature has provided so well for the defence of these poor pagans, that they are not easily taken by surprise.

We succeeded, with the dawn of day, in passing the first broad sheet of water of the wide "ngáljam" of Wúliya, but found great difficulty in passing another water with a deep, argillaceous soil of so boggy a nature that several of the horses fell, even those whose riders had dismounted; and I felt not a little anxiety on account of my own restless and

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fiery horse, which was snorting like a hippopotamus. At length we left also this morass behind us, and indulged in the hope of having overcome every difficulty, when suddenly we had before us another and far deeper water, which delayed us for a long time. But bad as was our situation whilst we were thus sticking fast in the mud, I could scarcely help laughing heartily, as this very delay enabled the poor pagans to escape with their wives and property to a place of safety. As for most of the horses, the water went over their backs, while I on my stately charger had the water three inches above my knee. A courageous enemy, led on by a clever commander, might at this moment have easily captured most of the horses, and put all the host to flight.

At length, after two hours' exertion, we emerged from this broad sheet of water, which, when full, must present the appearance of an extensive central lake three or four miles in breadth, and many more in length, and now entered upon green pasture-ground, which, however, during the highest state of the inundation is itself under water. Here the army divided into three bodies, and pushed on vigorously, although a great many had retraced their steps upon seeing the deep water.

Proceeding in this way, we reached the first hamlets, and here formed a regular line of battle, while the greater part of the army rushed on in advance, at the sound of the drum and the horns of the kashéllas, to see if there was anything left for them; but

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all the inhabitants had made their escape. Another delay occurred owing to one of the followers of Bú-Bakr falling into a ditch or hollow twelve feet in depth and the same in breadth, from which he was extricated with some difficulty, while the horse died on the spot. But there was plenty of leisure, the pagans having long ago had sufficient time to make their escape beyond the river. If those simple people had followed the same stratagem which the Bórnu people employ against the Tawárek, digging a quantity of holes and covering them over with bushes, they might have done a great deal of mischief to the cavalry.

This whole tract of country still belongs to the extensive district of Wúliya; but the villages have separate names, which, owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which I visited the country, I was not able to learn. Having passed a considerable village, we reached, a little before eleven o'clock, the furthermost line which the waters of the river Serbéwuel attain during its highest state of inundation, while when they recede they leave extensive ponds of stagnant water behind, which nourish a rich supply of the must succulent herbage. The shore was here about eight feet high, while at the other point, where we had visited the river a few days previously, it was not so well marked. Of course, where the inner shore consists of steeper banks, so that the river does not rise over the higher level to a considerable height, the outward shore cannot be marked so distinctly.

About thirteen hundred yards beyond this grassy

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outward shore we reached the inner bank of the river, which consisted of sand, and was here only ten feet high. The river at present was confined to this bank, running at this spot from S. 25° E.; but a little lower down it changed its direction, running W. by N. Higher up, the opposite shore was richly overgrown with trees, among which deléb- and dúm-palms were conspicuous; but no villages were to be seen, although a place named Kár is said to lie on the eastern shore. The reason we had directed our march to this point seemed to be, that the river is here rather broad, being about eight hundred yards across, and forming a large sandbank, so that my friends had entertained the hope that they would be enabled to ford it, which in some years, when the rains have not been very considerable, may be possible at this season, and even this year might probably be effected in two months' time. But at present this was not the case, and the rapacious Shúwa Arabs were hurrying about in despair, to and fro, between the island and the western shore.

I too took the direction of the island, as the most interesting point, although I became aware that it was not possible to penetrate further on. The first branch of the river on this side of the island, which was the broader of the two, was not more than from eighteen to nineteen inches deep, and could not but become dry in a short time, when the island, or rather sandbank, should form the knee of the bend of the river; but the eastern branch, though apparently only about

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120 or 130 yards broad, seemed to be of considerable depth, running along with a strong current, and my old friend Abú Dáúd, one of the principal Shúwa chiefs, whom I encountered at the southern point of the sandbank, with a sad countenance, indicated the whole nature of this stream with the laconic and significant expression, "yákul" (it eats),—that is to say, it is not fordable.

It would have been the more dangerous to attempt to force the passage, as the opposite shore, which was so near, and only four feet high, was occupied by a number of stalwart pagans, who mocked at our inability to cross the river, and seemed to be quite ready to receive in a satisfactory manner anybody who should make the attempt. It would have been easy to have blown away these people, and thus to clear the place of descent; but for such an undertaking my friends had not sufficient courage or energy. I did not see a single Kanúri on the island, but only Shúwa, who always expose themselves to the greatest risk, and push on the furthest. The pagans had not only occupied the opposite bank, but even kept afloat four canoes at some distance above the island, in order to run down, with the assistance of the current, any one who should dare to cross the river. Three of these canoes were small; but the fourth was of a larger size, and manned by ten Músgu.

These canoes were the only craft visible on the river, and probably constituted the whole naval force

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of these pagans. Of course in a country politically rent into so many petty principalities, where every little community, as in ancient times in Latium and Greece, forms a separate little state in opposition to its neighbours, no considerable intercourse is possible, and those natural highroads with which nature has provided these countries, and the immense field therefore which is open in these regions to human industry and activity, must remain unproductive under such circumstances; but it will be turned to account as soon as the restless spirit of the European shall bring these countries within the sphere of his activity. This period must come. Indeed I am persuaded that in less than fifty years European boats will keep up a regular annual intercourse between the great basin of the Tsád and the Bay of Biyáfra.

An almost uninterrupted communication has been opened by Nature herself; for, from the mouth of the Kwára to the confluence of the river Bénuwé with the máyo Kébbi, there is a natural passage navigable without further obstruction for boats of about four feet in depth, and the máyo Kébbi itself, in its present shallow state, seems to be navigable for canoes, or flat-bottomed boats like those of the natives, which I have no doubt may, during the highest state of the inundation, go as far as Dáwa in the Túburi country, where Dr. Vogel was struck by that large sheet of water which to him seemed to be an independent central lake, but

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which is in reality nothing but a widening of the upper part of the máyo Kébbi.

It is very probable that from this place there may be some other shallow watercourse, proceeding to join the large ngáljam of Démmo, so that there would exist a real bifurcation between the basin of the Niger and that of the Tsád. But even if this should not be the case, the breadth of the water-parting between these two basins at the utmost cannot exceed twenty miles, consisting of an entirely level flat, and probably of alluvial soil, while the granitic region attached to that isolated rocky mountain which I have mentioned above may, most probably, be turned without difficulty. The level of the Tsád and that of the river Bénuwé near Géwe, where it is joined by the máyo Kébbi, seem to be almost identical; at least, according to all appearance, the Bénuwé at the place mentioned is not more than 850 or 900 feet above the level of the sea. All this bounty of nature will, I trust, one day be turned to account, though many changes must take place in this country before a regular and peaceful intercourse can be established. The very scenes which I witnessed are an unmistakable proof of the misery into which these regions are plunged.

But, as I have carried away the reader's attention from the thread of the narrative, so I myself had almost forgotten where I was, and it required an admonition from my friend Abú Dáúd to induce me

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to look after my own safety; for already the greater part of the Shúwa had returned to the western shore, and threatened to leave us alone, and it did not seem very agreeable to be taken in the rear by the pagans, and perhaps even to be cut off by the boats. I therefore returned to the western shore, where the army was scattered about, not knowing what to do, being rather disinclined to retrace their steps without having enriched themselves with booty of some kind.

Following then the course of the river, I witnessed an interesting and animated scene, — a dozen courageous natives occupying a small elevated island, with steep banks, separated from the shore by a narrow but deep channel, setting at defiance a countless host of enemies, many of whom were armed with firearms. But African muskets are not exactly like Minié rifles, and a musketeer very often misses his aim at a distance of thirty or forty yards. It was astonishing to see that none of this small band of heroes was wounded, notwithstanding the repeated firing of a number of Kanúri people. Either the balls missed their aim entirely, or else, striking upon the shields of these poor pagans, which consisted of nothing but wickerwork, were unable to pierce this slight defence; for not only was the powder of a bad quality, making a great deal of noise without possessing any strength, but even the balls were of extremely light weight, consisting of pewter, as is generally the case here.

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However, it was not prudent of me to witness this scene (which was so little flattering to my friends) for too long a time; for when they saw that I had my gun with me, they called upon me urgently to fire at these scoffers, and when I refused to do so, reproached me in terms which very often fell to my lot — "'Abd el Kerím fáida nsé bágo," meaning that I was a useless sort of person.

It is a remarkable fact that in almost the whole of the Músgu country, except near a few isolated granite mountains, there is not a single stone, else it would have been almost more profitable to have thrown stones at these people, than to fire at them with the pewter balls. With regard to those peculiar shields of wickerwork with which these courageous Músgu people managed to protect themselves so adroitly, I had afterwards an opportunity of examining them, and found them to be about sixteen inches broad at the top, twenty-two at the bottom, and about forty in length, but hollow. The material consists of the same kind of reed with which their huts are thatched.

About noon the army began its march homewards. Certainly it was not overburdened with spoil; for scarcely fifteen slaves had been taken, mostly decrepit old women, who either could not or would not leave their comfortable cottages. The anger and disappointment of the army was vented upon the habitations of these people; and all the cheerful dwellings which we passed were destroyed by fire. This certainly was a heavy loss to the inhabitants, not so

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much on account of the huts, which they might easily rebuild, as on account of the granaries, the grain having been harvested some time previously; and, as far as I became aware, there being no subterranean magazines or catamores, as I had observed with the Marghí, and the fugitives in the hurry of their escape mostly probably having only been able to save a small portion of their store. In estimating, therefore, the miseries of these slave-hunts, we ought not only to take into account the prisoners led into slavery, and the full-grown men who are slaughtered, but also the famine and distress consequent upon these expeditions, although nature has provided this peculiar tribe with innumerable shallow watercouses swarming with fish, which must tend greatly to alleviate their sufferings under such circumstances.

The forest intervening between these villages consisted almost exclusively of "kindín" or talha-trees, which were just in flower, diffusing a very pleasant fragrance, while here and there they were overshadowed by isolated dúm-palms. As for deléb-palms, I did not observe a single specimen in the whole of this district; but beyond the river to the south-east, as I have mentioned above, I had seen several in the distance.

After a march of four hours, we again reached the broad ngáljam of Démmo, but at a different point from where we had crossed it in the morning with so much delay. It seemed almost providential

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that we had not taken this route in the morning, as the poor Músgu people would have had less time to make their escape. Leaving the main body of the cavalry behind me, I pursued my march towards my homely tent without delay; for, having been on horseback for more than twelve hours without anything to eat, I was quite ready for some repose and refreshment. But it took me full an hour and a half to cross this peculiar basin, which at present was dry in most places, and overgrown with tall rank grass, but swampy in some parts, and intersected by holes caused by the footprints of the elephant. A mile further along the north-western border of this swamp brought me to my tent, and to the several dishes which awaited me; and this was one of those rare occasions, during my travels in Negroland, on which I dined with a truly European appetite.

The vizier was very gracious, and praised my courage in having accompanied this distant expedition quite by myself; but the Kanúri, who had taken part in it, detracted from my praise, using the very terms which I have mentioned above — "fáida nsé bágo." Indeed this became one of my nicknames during my stay in Bórnu, and was the reason why I was less popular with most of the people than my companion. It is very natural that the motto "afí fáida nsé" ("of what use is he?") should be the guiding principle, not only of Europeans, but barbarians and semi-barbarians.

The following day we remained on the same spot,

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probably for no other purpose than to give some repose to the people who had accompanied the expedition the preceding day; and the vizier, who was fully aware of my ardent desire to push further southward, at least as far as the equator, took occasion to make merry at my expense, and, to the great horror of the effeminate courtiers, suddenly proclaimed that it was his firm intention to lead the expedition into those unknown regions in the interior. At times, indeed, he could be exceedingly amiable; and he was clever enough to conceive how Europeans could be induced to undertake such hazardous journeys, although he was scarcely able to appreciate the amount of courage which such an undertaking is able to inspire. He had often spoken with me concerning my project of pushing on towards the east coast; and he thought that a troop of ten Europeans would be able to accomplish it, though he anticipated great obstructions from the quantity of watercourses in those equatorial regions; and there can be no doubt that this would be one of the greatest obstacles to such an undertaking.

In order to console me, and soothe my disappointment on finding that this was to be the furthest point of the expedition, and that we should retrace our steps from hence without even visiting the country of the Túburi, he ordered Mállem Jýmma to be called, in order to inform me how far the enterprising Púllo conqueror Búba had penetrated beyond Búbanjídda; but he found that I was already fully acquainted

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with this fact from other sources. The very interesting route of the mallem Jýmma from Démmo, by the village of the Túburi to Láka and Láme, I have already communicated on a former occasion.* It is to be hoped that these regions will soon become better known, when English steamers shall go annually up the river Bénuwé, and enable travellers to start afresh from thence for those inland regions.

* I will here only observe with what exactitude I have laid down, on my map which was published by Mr. Petermann, the district of the Túburi, which exactly corresponds with the latitude ascertained by Dr. Vogel. As to the longitude assigned by me to this place, it is dependent on the meridian of Kúkawa.

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CHAP. XLV.

RETURN TO BÓRNU.

THIS was the day when we were to bid farewell to all projects of penetrating further towards the south or south-east. It was rather remarkable, that, early in the morning, at the very moment when the drum was beating, the moon was eclipsed; but our commander-in-chief was too much enlightened to be frightened at such a phenomenon like the Athenian general before Syracuse. He requested Mr. Overweg to explain it to him; but otherwise he was not much concerned about it. January 7th, 1852.

We this time kept a little more towards the east than on our outward march, approaching closer to the river of Logón. Only a short tract of clear forest separated the cultivated grounds of Démmo from another village, where, besides Negro corn, we found tobacco and cotton in friendly community on the same piece of ground. We had already seen much cultivation of tobacco in this country, and were impressed with the opinion, however strange it may seem, that it was an indigenous plant, and not introduced at a recent period; we had moreover

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been informed that not only the men, but even the women in this country, are passionately fond of smoking. But as for cotton, we had not yet seen any in the whole tract of the Músgu country which we had travelled over; and its appearance here seemed to be a step in advance towards civilization, caused, probably, by the influence of the neighbouring town of Logón.

After a short interruption, there followed another village, which was succeeded by forest, and then another swamp, at present dry, and overgrown with tall rank grass, but difficult to pass on account of innumerable holes. Shortly afterwards the country on our right assumed an open and very pleasant appearance, a river with a clear sheet of water, but apparently without a current, winding through it in tortuous meanderings, and closely approaching the higher ground along which the numerous host was pursuing its march. The slope was adorned with wild fig-trees and acacias, which were overshadowed by two fine deléb-palms. This open country was succeeded by the well-cultivated and shaded fields which lay stretched out between the scattered court-yards of another village; and here we encamped, my companion and I pitching our tents near a beautiful sort of fig-tree of the species called "báure" by the Háusa, and "kágo" by the Kanúri, or at least the Mánga.

The whole village was deserted; only a few neglected members of the poultry tribe were running about,

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endeavouring to escape from the hands of their greedy pursuers.

It was a very hot day, the hottest we had on this expedition, the thermometer, at half-past one in the afternoon, indicating 100° in the cool shade of our fine fig-tree.

The encampment was cheerful and pleasant; but in the evening a frighful alarm arose — the rumour being spread that the pagans were attacking the "ngáufate," — the great drum of the commander-in-chief keeping up a tremendous din, and all the people hurrying along in every direction. The alarm was so great that my companion gave up his tent, and retreated with his people to that of the vizier; and I found myself obliged to allow my two servants to follow him also. As for myself, I remained where I was, for I felt little inclination to have my tent once more plundered, as had been the case on our expedition to Kánem. It soon proved to be nothing but a false alarm.

In these predatory incursions, the rapacious Shúwa suffer the greatest loss, as it is they who always push on furthest, and run the greatest risk; but, on the other hand, they also succeed in carrying off secretly a great deal of spoil to their native villages without its becoming subject to the general partition. None of them have firelocks, being only armed with missiles usually consisting of one large spear, or kasákka, and four small javelins or bállem; very few of them have shields.

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Thursday, January 8th. The country through which we passed was extremely fertile and beautiful, the scenery during the first part of our march preserving in general the same features which it exhibited on the preceding day. We ourselves kept along the high ground, at the foot of which a clear open sheet of water was meandering along, while beyond, towards the east, an unbounded grassy plain stretched out, with a scanty growth of trees in the back-ground, and only broken towards the south-east by a low chain of hills, as represented in the plate opposite. At the distance of a mile we reached some hamlets where dúm- and delèb-palms were grouped together in a remarkable manner, starting forth from, and illuminated by, the sea of flames which was devouring the village, the whole forming a very picturesque spectacle.

Further on we made a halt on the slope of the rising ground, the various troops, distinguished by the diversity of colours of their dresses, grouping themselves around some buildings which were almost consumed by the flames, while I found leisure to sketch the fertile country before us. The people themselves were struck with its beauty; and when we continued our march, I took an opportunity to enter into a conversation with our friend the vizier, with regard to the policy which they pursued with these people, and the way in which they desolated these regions; and I asked him whether they would not act more prudently in allowing the natives to cultivate their fertile country in tranquillity, only levying a con-

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Thursday, January 8th.

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siderable tribute upon them. But the vizier answered me, that it was only by the most violent means that they were able to crush these pagans, who cherished their independence and liberty above everything, and that this was the reason why he burnt all the granaries, in order to subdue them by famine; and he added that even of famine they were less sensible than he could wish, as the water in this region afforded them an unlimited supply of fish.

Slaves are the only articles which the conquerors want from the subjected tribes; by carrying into slavery great numbers of them they force them into subjection, and even the tribute which they levy, after having subdued them, consists of slaves. All this will be changed as soon as a regular and legitimate intercourse has been opened along the river Bénuwé into the heart of these regions, when the natural produce of the soil will be in constant request — such as cotton, indigo, vegetable butter, ground-nuts, ivory, rhinoceros' horns, wax, hides, and many other articles. The vizier himself, although a strict Moslim, was too enlightened to lay much stress upon the spreading of Islám; but nevertheless the idea that these unfortunate creatures fully deserve such treatment, in their character as pagans (kofár or "kérdi"), blunted his feelings to their sufferings.

Further on we crossed the water where it was shallower, and, a little beyond, another meadow-water of greater breadth but not so deep, and then entered a fine undulating country, while an arm of the water

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remained on our left. The whole country was extremely well cultivated, and densely inhabited, village succeeding village, while large trees, mostly of the ngábbore and karáge kind, enveloped the whole in the finest vegetation. Some of the huts were distinguished by a natural ornamental net-work or covering, formed by that kind of *Cucurbitacea* which I have mentioned before as named "ságade" by the natives, and which is probably identical with the species called *Melopepo*. The aspect of the country was the more pleasing, and left the impression of a certain degree of industry, owing to the tobacco-plants just standing in flower.

Amidst such scenery, we took up our encampment at an early hour in the morning, a beautifully-winding watercourse, which was bordered by a fine grassy slope about twenty feet high, closely approaching on our right. The watercourse was about sixty yards broad, but of considerable depth, at least in this place, and full of clear fresh water, which was gently gliding along, and disappeared further down in the plain. Here I lay down for an hour in the cool shade of a large karáge-tree, and allowed myself to be carried away by the recollections caused by the ever-varying impressions of such a wandering life, which repays the traveller fully for all the hardships and privations which he has to endure, and endows him with renewed energy to encounter fresh dangers.

I have before observed what trouble the hard allu-

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vial soil caused us in pitching our tents; but here the argillaceous soil was succeeded by loose sand, which forms the border of the river. The light troops, soon after our arrival to-day, had dispersed in all directions and brought a considerable quantity of cattle from the neighbouring villages; the cattle, however, hereabouts are only of middle size, and the cows yield little milk, and that of very poor quality.

It seems remarkable that the Músgu, as well as the Marghí, and several divisions of the kindred Kótokó, call the cattle by a name which closely approaches that given to it by the Háusa people, while the Bátta call it by a name which is certainly derived from the Fulfúlde, or the language of the Fúlbe. Such linguistic relations are not without interest, as they afford some little insight into the history of the civilization of these regions.

A little variety was given to the monotonous proceedings of our rather inglorious expedition, by the fact of one of the Shúwa, who was supposed to have been killed a few days previously, being found under a tree in the forest, severely wounded, but still alive, after having undergone great hardships and privations.

The whole district in which we had been January 9th. roving about since the 30th December belongs to Wúliya, which is decidedly one of the most fertile and best-irrigated regions in the world.

A desolate border-district, consisting at times of green swampy ground uprooted by the footprints of

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the elephant, and on this account affording a very difficult passage for cavalry, at others of dense forest, the one following the other in rapid succession, separated Wúliya from another principality, of the name of Bárea, and inhabited by a tribe of the Músgu of the name of A'bare. It was characteristic of the little peaceful intercourse which exists among these various petty tribes, that the A'bare did not seem to have had the slightest information of the approach of the expedition, till we suddenly came upon them through the dense forest, so that they had scarcely time to escape with their families from the village, and endeavour to hide themselves in the dense covert of the forest towards the east. They were pursued and overpowered, after a short resistance, by the continually increasing numbers of the enemy; and the booty of that day, chiefly in cattle, was rather considerable. Slaves were also brought in in considerable numbers, principally young boys and girls. The distance of the field of battle spared us the sight of the slaughter of the full-grown men.

We chose our camping-ground on the stubble-fields between the straggling groups of the village, which were beatifully adorned by some fine specimens of the deléb-palm; and I took the opportunity of making a sketch of this scene of natural fertility, and wanton destruction of human happiness. The huts in general were of the same construction and arrangement as those described above; but in one of them I found a kind of three-pointed harpoon or

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the elephant, and on this account affording [illegible] difficult passage for cavalry, at others of de[illegible] the one following the other in rapid [illegible] separated Wádiya from another principali[illegible] name of Bárea, and inhabited by a tri[illegible] Músgu of the name of A'bare. It was charac[illegible] of the little peaceful intercourse which exist[illegible] these various petty tribes, that the A'bar[illegible] seem to have had the slightest information o[illegible] proach of the expedition, till we suddenly [illegible] them through the dense forest, so that [illegible] scarcely time to escape with their families [illegible] village, and endeavour to hide themselves in [illegible] covert of the forest towards the east. They were pursued and overpowered, after a short resist[illegible] the continually increasing numbers of the enem[illegible] the booty of that day, chiefly in cattle, was [illegible] considerable. Slaves were also brought in in [illegible] siderable numbers, principally young boys and [illegible] The distance of the field of battle spared us the [illegible] of the slaughter of the full-grown men.

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Drawn by J. M. Bernatz, from a Sketch by Dr. Barth.

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spear very similar to a hay-fork, with this difference, that the middle point was rather longer. The handle also was rather long, measuring about eight feet. It probably was used for catching fish, rather than as a weapon, otherwise it would scarcely have been left behind; but it may easily have served both purposes.

Thus by very short marches we again approached Bórnu, keeping mostly at a short distance eastward from our former route, and encamped the following day in the midst of another straggling village, the fields of which were especially shaded by fine bíto-trees (*Balanites Ægyptiaca*), the soil being as hard as iron. I had scarcely pitched my tent when Hámed, the son of Ibrahím Wádáy, one of the courtiers with whom I was on friendly terms, sent to me, begging I would pay him a visit; and, upon complying with his wish, he introduced into my presence a female slave who had been taken the day before, telling me that I might make a drawing of her: for he knew that I was making strict inquiries after the origin and customs of these tribes, and that I was making occasional sketches. This female slave was certainly worthy of a sketch, as she was one of the most stately women I saw here. But I entertained some suspicion that she was not of Músgu origin, but belonged to the Marghí; for in the whole of the Músgu country I had not observed a single individual of red colour, but all were of the same dirty black, approaching to what

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the French call *café au lait*, while this woman was of a red complexion. She certainly wore in her under lip the large bone, the national emblem of the Músgu females; but this custom she might have adopted. As for herself, she would neither give me any information with respect to her origin, nor sit still in order to allow me to finish my sketch. She was tall and well-grown, with the exception of the legs, which were rather crooked; and being still a young woman, her breasts had not yet attained that bag-like shape which is so disgusting in the elder females of this country. Her features were only a little disfigured by the bone in the under lip. Her neck was richly ornamented with strings of beads; but these were as little peculiar to her as the cotton cloth round her loins, having been given her by the new master into whose hands she had fallen. The national dress of the Músgu females consists of nothing but a narrow bandage, formed of bast, twisted like a rope, which is fastened between the legs and round the waist like a T bandage.

A circumstance happened here which caused a great sensation, particularly among the courtiers. The last messengers who had been sent from Kúkawa with despatches for the commander-in-chief, as I have observed, had been destroyed by the pagans; and it was on this day, and in this place, that, while all the cottages were being pillaged and ransacked, three of the letters of which those messengers had been the bearers, were found in the pocket of a shirt

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which had been hid in a clay jar. This was evidently the shirt of the messenger himself; and the blood with which it had been stained had been washed out without taking the letters out of the pocket. Devoid as the expedition was of feats of valour and interest, the greatest importance was attached to this little incident.

When we left this place our friends just barely escaped punishment for their barbarous proceeding of burning the villages, in which we had encamped, as soon as we left them; for the conflagration spread before we had gained the open country, and a most horrible crushing took place among the burning huts. Had there been any wind, great part of the army might have been severely scorched. Sunday, January 11th.

The country which we passed to-day was intersected by numerous watercourses; and we had to cross and recross them several times. Here we passed a place where the poor natives, in the consciousness of their weakness, seemed to have been aroused to new and unwonted energy for building a large fortification, but had been obliged to leave it half finished. Our march was extremely short, and scarcely extended to three miles, when we encamped in a village which seemed to have been ransacked at a former period. It lay straggling over a wide extent of ground, in separate groups of cottages, which were surrounded by stubble-fields shaded by karáge-trees of a richness and exuberance

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which I had not seen before, and surpassing even those fine trees of the same species which I have described near the village Kadé.

Of course every one was desirous of having his tent pitched in the shade of one of these beautiful trees, when suddenly the intruders were attacked by swarms of large bees, which, settling behind their ears, tormented them to the utmost, as if they wanted to take revenge for the mischief that had been done to their masters, and to defend their favourite resting-places against these cruel intruders. It is well known that swarms of bees had almost caused the destruction of Mungo Park's, as well as Major Gray's expedition; but here a whole army was running away from these little creatures. Even those who had encamped at a greater distance were only able to protect themselves by the large volumes of smoke which issued from the fires they had lighted. Before this, we had not observed the rearing of bees in this country; but here the larger trees were full of beehives, made of large-sized blocks. Even flocks of turtle-doves were not wanting in this fertile region so rich in water and vegetation.

In this pleasant spot we remained encamped the following day, while part of the army was sent out in a southerly direction towards our former encampment, Kákala, which was only at a few miles distance, in order to try their fortune thereabouts; but the pagans being upon their guard, they returned empty-handed in the evening. Our food to-day was varied,

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to our great satisfaction, by an excellent fish of considerable size, which we obtained from the neighbouring pond.

Fish seems to be plentiful in this quarter; but whether the number of small ridges and channels which we observed on our march the following day were intended for catching fish, which might enter them at the highest level of the inundation, or for preparing the fields for cultivation, I am not quite sure; but the former seemed to be the case, there being no signs whatever of the fields being brought under labour. Dense forest and open pasture-ground alternated, the forest, consisting of middle-sized acacias, interrupted now and then by the kálgo-tree, with its ash-coloured leaves and its dark red pods, or by the kókia.

The country, however, became exceedingly interesting and pleasant when we reached one of the numerous watercourses of these African Netherlands, an open and clear river about seventy yards broad, which being fringed on each bank with a border of slender deléb-palms, or kamelútu, in the clear magnificent morning sky, afforded a most picturesque view. We here crossed this water, and passed a village on our left, and, keeping along the fresh turf of the western bank a mile further on, reached a spot where another branch, running eastward apparently, though no current is visible, and fringed likewise by palms of the same description, joins the main channel. The country being without any perceptible inclina-

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tion, it is extremely difficult, nay almost impossible, to decide about the direction of these watercourses, except during the period of their highest inundation. But the fertile and picturesque landscape beyond this narrow sheet of water, which stretched along in a regular line like an artificial canal, did not seem at all to be deserted, natives being seen in every direction. The commander of the expedition therefore ordered a short halt, the army presenting their front to the enemy, and preventing the stragglers from crossing the river, which, owing to their greediness for spoil, they seemed to have not a little inclination to do.

But the great men of Bórnu at the present day do not like any unusual exertion; and it was decided to await the arrival of the camels, to encamp at ease, and to take luncheon. We then turned off a little to the westward, entered a village, and encamped in the stubble-fields.

Suddenly, just about noon, without my having any previous knowledge of it, the vizier and his officers mounted on horseback, in order to attack the pagans on the other side of the water; but these poor people, to whom had been given full opportunity of estimating the strength of the army, had thought it prudent to make use of the leisure thus afforded them, not by the mercy, but by the cowardly disposition of their enemies, to convey their families and property into a place of safety; for the river of Logón passed at a distance of only four miles from this place, and in

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its present state was capable of affording perfect security to the persecuted natives, their pursuers having no boats. But although the army did not go to a great distance, and returned after an absence of three hours, I was rather sorry for having neglected this opportunity of obtaining a sight of the river of Logón again at another place, and likewise of visiting once more that picturesque district, so rich in delébpalms, which was evidently one of the finest in the whole country. Mr. Overweg, who had received previous information of the intention of the vizier, was this time more fortunate than myself, and afterwards informed me that they had been obliged to keep first along the smaller river, in order to reach the ford where we had crossed it in the morning. The great river, which they reached about three miles beyond, exhibited a single bed, and was not fordable.

While remaining behind in the empty encampment, I lamented the misery of accompanying such an expedition; for nothing can be more disheartening to the feelings of a traveller who is desirous of knowledge, than to visit these beautiful countries under such circumstances, when the original inhabitants are either exterminated, or obliged to seek their safety in flight, when all traces of their cheerful life are destroyed, and the abodes of human happiness converted into desolation, when no one is left to acquaint him with all the significant names which the various characteristic features of the country must necessarily

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bear, especially those numberless creeks, swamps, and rivers which intersect this country in all directions. The stranger who intrudes upon the natives in this hostile manner is scarcely able to make out a few dry names of the principal dwelling-places, and, being placed under such disadvantageous circumstances, is at least justified in speaking more emphatically of the endless misery into which the finest and most populous regions of this continent are plunged by these slave-hunting expeditions of their merciless Mohammedan neighbours. This fertile district, which is inclosed by the river of Logón on the east, and by the narrow channel-like watercourse on the west side, seems to be that very dominion of "Fúss," the power of which, as I have related before, was greatly dreaded by our friends.

This was the coolest day we had as yet experienced on our expedition, the thermometer, in the cool shade of a tree, at half-past one o'clock in the afternoon indicating only 84°. This was probably attributable to the fresh northerly breeze which sprung up about noon; for during the night it was not so cold as we felt it afterwards, the thermometer during this time indicating, at sunrise, between 56° and 59°, and at sunset between 74° and 77°.

Wednesday, anuary 14th. We made a longer march than usual, while the character of the country changed entirely, and not, as it seemed, to its advantage; for instead of a fertile landscape, clothed with rich verdure, we entered upon bleak alluvial plains, scantily over-

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grown with stunted mimosas, and to all appearance almost unfit for producing grain. It was one of those remarkable days in January which, in the whole of Central Africa, form a distinct season by themselves. A thick fog enveloped the whole country, and excluded any distant view, and, while subsequently it helped to increase the dismal character of the country, in the beginning of our march it prevented us from enjoying once more the rich scenery of the preceding day; for we had first to return to the bank of that beautiful clear sheet of water along which our march had led the day before. Its banks here also were quite flat, but the sheet of water was wider than at the place where we had seen it before. Proceeding a little in advance of the army, I obtained a sight of a riverhorse just at the moment when it raised its immense head above the surface of the watery element.

But as soon as we left this fine clear sheet of water the character of the country changed entirely, assuming an exceedingly sombre aspect, and we passed a hamlet more cheerless and miserable than any I had seen in the whole of this country. Not a single trace of cultivation was seen on the bleak, black, argillaceous soil; and it was evident that the inhabitants of this hamlet subsisted solely on the fish which they were able to catch; and these may be abundant, as the whole configuration of the ground evidently shows that this entire tract is reached by the inundation during the rainy season.

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The country preserved the same aspect as we proceeded onwards; and the hamlets which we passed were not of a more inviting appearance than the first. Only now and then an isolated deléb-palm, or kamelútu, raised its magnificent tuft into the air, and served, by the contrast it afforded, to make this spot appear more gloomy. A large piece of ground was entirely covered with aghúl (*Hedysarus alhajji*) which seemed to me not a little remarkable, as I did not remember to have seen this plant, which is so much liked by the camel, since I had left Taganáma.

The country assumed more and more the appearance of a swamp at present dry; and we were even obliged to change our direction frequently, in order to avoid spots where the bog had not dried up, while everywhere we observed the same kind of small ridges which I have mentioned before. Further on, the ground became a little drier, but presented only a monotonous waste, with detached bunches of rank grass, overshadowed now and then by scanty and stunted karáge trees scarcely fifteen feet high, while we had been accustomed, in the Músgu country, to see this kind of tree assume the size of the most magnificent specimens of the vegetable kingdom, with an elevation of from seventy to eighty feet, and a crown of not less diameter. As far as the eye could reach, the character of the country presented the same poor appearance; but, as I have mentioned before, the sky was not very clear, and the view was therefore rather limited. The bush of the fan-palm

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seemed to be quite solitary, without there being a full-grown specimen to be seen.

At length this swampy ground seemed to have an end; but nothing but poor stubble-fields, where the crop had failed, took its place, with here and there a few detached poor-looking huts, the few trees which were visible exhibiting the same scanty growth that we had observed in the district through which we had just passed. At last the eye, fatigued by the length of this gloomy tract, was refreshed by the sight of a field with a fresh crop of másakuwá, or *Holcus cernuus*, though it was far from being a rich one. Already here, besides the huts common in this country, others, of a remarkable and peculiar style, became visible, such as I shall describe further on, and as only the most excellent clay soil can enable the natives to build.

Entering for a while a grassy plain, we reached an open water, such as the Kanúri people call komádugu, about thirty yards broad, but apparently of considerable depth, being inclosed by banks ten feet high, and winding through the plain in a fine meandering course. The water, at present, had no current; and we found a spot where it was totally broken, and were enabled to cross it with dry feet.

A few hundred yards on the other side of this watercourse were the ruins of Bága, the residence of the chief Kábishmé (or, as the Kanúri call him, Kabshimé), which had been ransacked last year by Kashélla 'Alí Fúgomámi. Among these ruins the vizier,

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by the advice of A'dishén, who wanted to keep the undisciplined host from his own fertile territory, had chosen the encampment. Thither I directed my steps, while the main body of the cavalry were scattered about the corn-fields, in order to gather the half-ripe ears of grain for themselves and their half-starved horses; and he was lucky who arrived first, those who came afterwards either finding nothing at all, or only green, unwholesome corn.

The whole district where the encampment was chosen was bare and desolate in the extreme, especially on the eastern side, where it was only bordered by stunted mimosas a considerable distance off. But the village itself, and particularly the dwelling of the chief Kábishmé, was calculated to create a great deal of interest, as well on account of the finished and careful execution of the buildings as owing to a certain degree of comfort and homeliness which was evident in the whole arrangement; and in this respect it was very fortunate that, immediately after our arrival, before the train came up, I directed my attention towards these buildings, for afterwards the deserted palace of the Músgu chief became a harím, or prohibited spot, the vizier finding its architectural arrangements very useful and convenient for his own domestic purposes.

The palace must have afforded a very different spectacle in former times, when it was inhabited, it being at present in such a state of ruin that several features in its arrangement could not be distinctly

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made out, almost everything that was liable to take fire having been destroyed, and especially the sheds and inner courtyards, which are so characteristic of the domestic life of these people. At present it was an empty courtyard of a tolerably round shape, and of large circumference, surrounded by huts more or less destroyed, and adorned at the four corners, if we may speak of corners in a building of almost round shape, by buildings of a very peculiar and remarkable character, which at once attracted my attention, as they bore testimony to a degree of order, and even of art, which I had not expected to find among these tribes.

They were small round rumbú, about eight feet in diameter, and at least twelve feet high to the apex of the cupola, the clay walls of which were very neatly polished; the entrance formed a projecting portal about six feet high, four feet deep, and not more than fourteen inches wide. The exterior, to the very top of the cupola, was ornamented in a very peculiar manner by regular lines of projecting ribs running round the building in the way represented in the woodcut. These very remarkable rooms, although at present empty, from their analogy with several buildings described above, and according to the statements of the people, were nothing but well protected granaries, although they might have served occasionally in the cold season as

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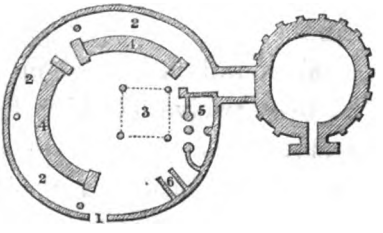
bed-rooms or sleeping-rooms. They were exactly the same at each of the four corners; but the north-east corner of the yard claimed particular attention, owing to another very remarkable apartment being there joined to the granary, which, as it is best adapted to give a clear idea of the homely comfort of these people, however low the scale of their civilization may be, has been made use of to represent, in the plate opposite, a scene of the domestic life of these people, besides that its ground-plan is given in the accompanying woodcut.



It was a round uncovered apartment of about twenty-four feet in diameter, inclosed by a clay wall of about seven feet high, and a foot in thickness, and carefully polished at the corners. The doorway was about four feet high by about two feet wide; entering through this you had on your left a bank of clay running parallel with the wall, and inclosing a space of about two and a half feet in breadth. It was a foot and a quarter high, and one foot broad, and ran round more than half the circumference of the room, but, in order to afford easy access to the narrow space between it and the wall, had an opening in the

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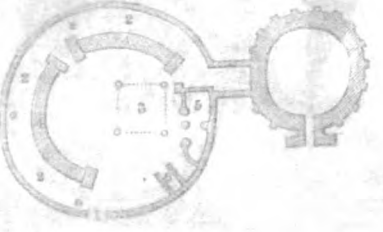

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INTERIOR OF A M[illegible] DWELLING

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centre, both ends of the banks thus formed having a regularly-shaped projection. The space included between the bank and the wall formed a sort of stable, as was evident from three stakes placed in the ground at equal distances from each other. Probably it was the place for three head of cattle or goats. The clay bank, therefore, served two purposes, partly as a separation of the stable from the inner apartment, and partly as a seat. The centre of the apartment was formed by a shed about eight feet by six, and consisting of a roof of reeds and grass, supported by four stakes, and furnishing an evident proof that the apartment had never been covered in, but formed an open little courtyard *sub dio*.

On the right of this shed was the cooking place or kitchen, inclosed by two very low clay walls, and formed by four projections of clay in the shape of large round stones, which in a very simple manner formed two fire-places, each of which, if detached, would have required three stones. Between the kitchen, the shed, and one end of the clay bank, and divided from the former by a separate wall, appeared a broad entrance to the adjoining building, which we have recognized as a granary; but at present it was walled up, and formed a recess for some purpose or other. Between the kitchen and the gateway was another place inclosed between two thin clay walls, which was most probably destined to contain the water-jar.

The four well-built and well-secluded rooms, which

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had been intended originally as granaries, seemed very desirable to the vizier in the cold weather, as he was able to lodge there, very comfortably, himself and his female slaves; for the cold in this open spot, which was not protected either by vegetation or by any rising of the ground, was so severe that not only the whole black world, but the two whites also, that is to say Mr. Overweg and myself, natives of the north of Europe, suffered severely from its intensity. Indeed it was most distressing during the night to hear the shrieks of the poor naked Músgu slaves, who had been torn from their warm huts; and it was not till about noon that they seemed to revive a little. Nevertheless the thermometer, at six o'clock in the morning of the 15th, indicated as much as 51°, which was the greatest amount of cold we had during this expedition, and at noon it even rose to 87°.

We were obliged to remain in this uncomfortable place several days, owing to the circumstance that the whole of the spoil was to be divided here before we left the hostile territory; for an undisciplined host like this, of course, cannot be controlled except by fear, and if the people were allowed to regain their own territory with what they had taken in slaves and cattle, they would go to their own homes without contributing anything to the common share of the army. This is also the custom in Wádáy as well as in Dár Fúr, the spoil being divided before the expedition re-enters the friendly territory.

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Although on the present occasion the expedition had not been eminently successful in the different places, nevertheless the whole booty, besides about 10,000 head of cattle, amounted to a considerable number of slaves. The leaders boasted that they had taken not less than 10,000 slaves; and, although I was glad to find that this number was exaggerated, I convinced myself that they numbered not less than 3000.

By far the largest proportion of this number consisted of aged women, who had not been able to join in the hasty flight, and of children under eight years of age. There were some women so decrepit that they were scarcely able to walk—mere skeletons, who in their almost total nakedness, presented a horrible sight. All the full-grown men who had been taken prisoners, with the exception of a few cowards who had not made any resistance, had been slaughtered; but their number scarcely exceeded 300, almost the whole full-grown male population of the country having had time to escape. Of these 3000 slaves, the commander-in-chief received a third part; but he also claimed for himself the whole amount of the slave-hunt which was made into the territory of A'dishén, and which constituted a sort of tribute.

In the afternoon of the 17th, two officers had left the encampment, under the pretext of gathering fodder from the neighbouring villages, but in the evening returned with about eight hundred slaves,

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and a considerable number of cattle; and we were given to understand that this foray was executed with the consent of the chief himself,—to such degrading means did this despicable chief resort in order to preserve his authority, however precarious it was. Of course he selects as a sacrifice such of his subjects as are not his zealous followers; but it is almost incredible how such a government can exist, as his dominion scarcely extends over a tract of country more than fifteen miles in every direction. At any rate his subjects seem to be fully justified in taking care of themselves; and they had succeeded, in the darkness, in getting back part of the spoil which had been taken from them.

The vizier himself pretended to behave in a very gracious manner towards the submissive vassal, returning to him about 200 of the oldest and most decrepit women, who, he most probably thought, would succumb to the fatigues of the march, observing, in a tone of friendly irony, that they were to cultivate the country, and that when he should return he would eat of the produce of their labour. On other occasions the vizier had expressed himself to me to the effect that he wished A'dishén strong and powerful, in order that, as a faithful vassal, he might oppose the progress of the Felláta in these regions; for in his heart he was the most inveterate enemy of that enterprising nation, and certainly he had ample reason to be so. It was on this occasion I heard that this renegade Músgu chief had never been rebellious

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to his Bórnu sovereign (which, from information I had received previously, I concluded to have been the case), but that occasionally he was obliged to make reprisals against the Shúwa, who were making plundering expeditions into his territory.

We have already noticed the peculiar situation of this Músgu chief, separated from the interests of his countrymen, and opposed to them in a hostile manner. He has to defend his position against all the people around him, while his rear is very badly protected by his very friends the Bórnu people, even the Shúwa Arabs, who are subjected to the former, infesting his territory. Only with his kinsmen, the people of Logón, he seemed to be at the time on friendly terms.

Monday, January 19th.

We at length set out on our return to Kúkawa. We first returned to the ford of shallow water, and then continued through a fine grassy plain, passing one or two hamlets and a few fields of native corn. We then encamped, after a march of about ten miles. Already this day, in the distance towards the west, we had observed some small elevations; but, proceeding at a slow rate, and making very short days' marches, we did not reach the district of Wáza, which is distinguished by its rocky mounts, till the 22nd, when, after a march of about fifteen miles, we encamped between those two rocky eminences which form the most characteristic feature of this locality.

It gave us extraordinary pleasure, after having tra-

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versed the flat alluvial plains of Bórnu and Músgu, to find ourselves once more opposite to some elevation of even a moderate altitude. These eminences assumed a very picturesque appearance. The valley between the two rocky mountains where we were encamped was rather bare of trees ; but there were some beautiful wild fig-trees at the north-eastern foot of the western eminence, where a pond was formed in a deep hollow. To this spot I turned my steps immediately after our arrival, before the camels had joined us, and spent here a delightful hour, all the horses belonging to the army being brought here to be watered, and forming a varied and highly interesting scene, with the rich verdure of the trees around, and the steep rocky cliffs above them, while fresh parties were continually arriving from the camp.

Having made a sketch of this locality, which is represented in the accompanying plate, I went to join my companion, and we decided upon ascending the more elevated of the two eminences; but having attained to the height of some hundred feet, I felt quite exhausted, especially as I had a severe cold, and gave it up; but Mr. Overweg ascended to the top, which rises to about 700 feet above the plain.* These rocky mounts abound with a species of black monkey, while even beasts of prey generally have their haunts here. The crevices formed by the granite blocks are adorned

* Mr. Vogel, who likewise visited this spot in 1854, found the plain elevated 920 feet above the level of the sea, while the two mounts attained the respective heights of 1300 and 1600 feet.

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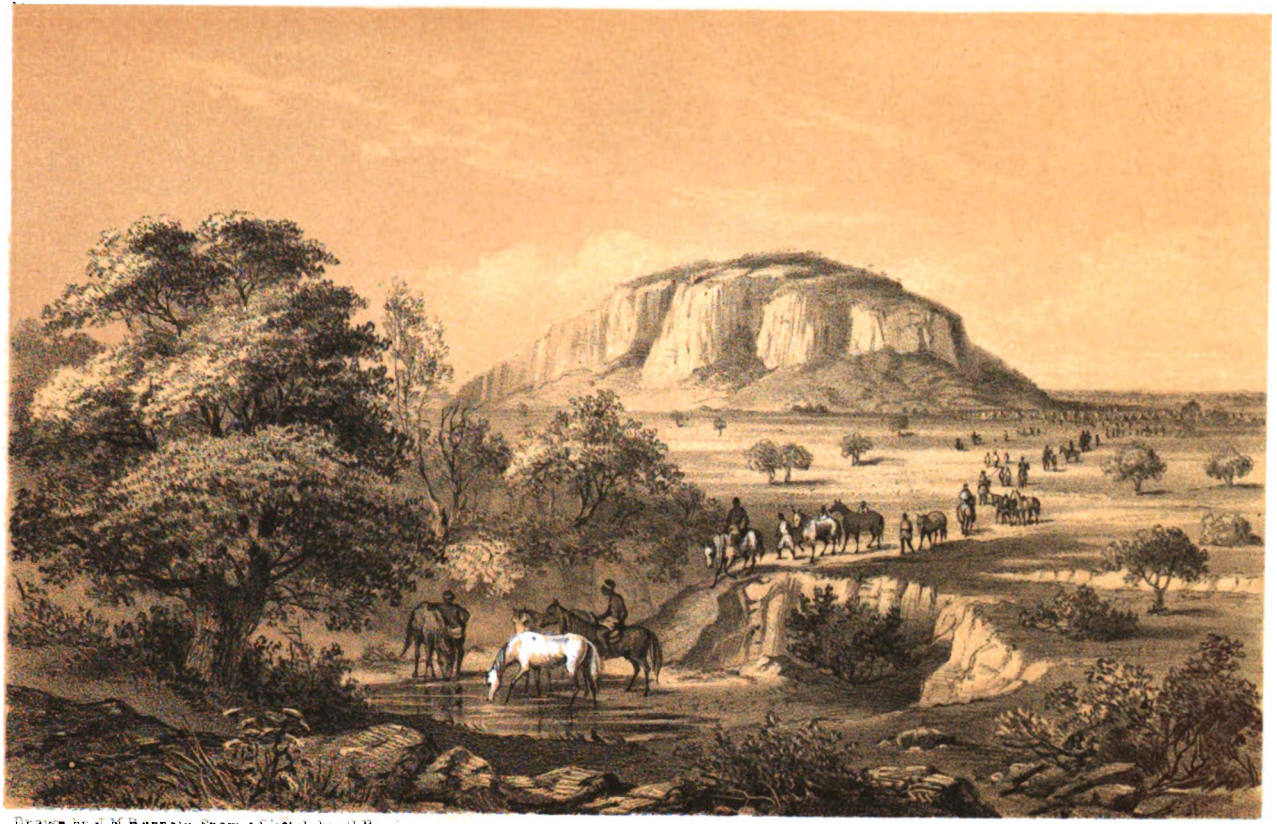

Drawn by J. M. Bernatz, From a Sketch by Dr Barth

M & N Hanhart, lith et Imp.

ENCAMPMENT AT WAZA

Jan.y 22nd 1853

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with small trees and shrubs. The view from here, over the immense plain towards the south, girt as it was by a continuous band of middle-sized timber, was very characteristic, the uniform line being relieved in the foreground by the other rocky mount.

This place belongs already to the territory of Logón, and consists of several small hamlets inhabited by Shúwa, but governed by a chief, or "lawán," who belongs to the tribe of the Fúlbe.

It was here that we received the news that a courier had arrived from Fezzán, but that he had been plundered, by the Tawárek, of the letters and articles which he was carrying for us. This, of course, was sad news, although we did not expect to receive money, or anything of great value, at the time.

After a long delay, caused by the straying of the vizier's favourite horse, which he rode every day, and which had most mysteriously disappeared during the night, from the midst of the encampment, we left this interesting spot, and after a good ride over a very rich though insufficiently cultivated tract of country, encamped at a short distance from a broad shallow water adorned with the finest trees; it is called Zéngiri. From here we reached Díggera, and took up our quarters in our old camp, pitching our tents on the very spot where they had stood two months previously; and from this point onwards, we stopped each day at the same place where we had encamped on our outward journey. January 22nd.

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February 1st. On our re-entering the capital there was a good deal of ceremony and etiquette observed, when the whole army*, at least that part which had not yet been disbanded, was formed into one compact line of battle, in order to receive in a suitable manner the military salutes which were paid to the commander-in-chief on his successful return. Distinguished above all those who came to meet us and pay their compliments to the commander, was Ghét, the chief of the Welád Slimán, who, a few days previously, had arrived from Kánem, where we left him, and from whence he had made a successful expedition against the Kúnkuna in Kárká. Galloping up with the utmost speed, at the head of his little band of from twenty to thirty horsemen clad in their picturesque attire, this petty Arab chief exhibited an interesting and animated specimen of horsemanship, which presented a remarkable contrast to the unwieldy movements of the clumsy and sluggish figures of the negroes. Returning to our old quarters in the town, we were treated with a peculiar dainty of the Kanúri, consisting of the fresh seeds of the grain called masr (*Zea maïs*), which are roasted in a peculiar way.

Thus ended this expedition, which opened to us a slight glimpse into the richly-watered zone of the equatorial regions, which had been supposed to form an insurmountable barrier of a high mountain-chain, and brought us into contact with tribes, whose cha-

* For a list of the several detachments which constituted the army, at least the cavalry, on this expedition, see Appendix III.

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racter had been represented as almost approaching to that of wild beasts. We had certainly not entered those regions under such circumstances as were most desirable to us; but on the contrary, we had been obliged to associate ourselves with an army whose only purpose was to spread devastation and misery over them. Nevertheless, situated as we were, while we could not prevent this mischief, we were glad that we had been enabled to see so much. We were without any means, no further supplies having arrived; but I did not despair, and in order still to be able to try my fortune once more in another direction before I returned home, besides other articles, I even sold my large tent, and employed part of the proceeds to line my small tent, which was fast wearing out, and neither excluded rain nor sun.

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CHAP. XLVI.

SETTING OUT FOR BAGÍRMI. — THE COUNTRY OF KÓTOKÓ.

I HAD returned to the town on the 1st of February, 1852; on the 4th of March I again set out on a journey to Bagírmi. However, I did not feel very confident as to the success of my enterprise. The sultan of Bagírmi was reported as being absent from his capital on an expedition to the south-east of his dominions; but I was given to understand that there would be no great difficulty in addressing myself to the lieutenant-governor, whom he had left to represent him in his absence, in order to be allowed to join him, and to be thus enabled to explore those more southern regions which by myself I had no prospect of visiting. I introduced myself, accordingly, to the agent of that prince, who resides in Kúkawa. This man is a eunuch, who was made prisoner by the Kanúri in the second battle of Ngála, and had risen to the dignity of mestréma, or first eunuch, of the sultan of Bórnu. But although I made him a small present, he received me rather coolly, and did not inspire me with much confidence as to my ultimate success.

I had exhausted my means entirely, having been obliged to purchase at high prices, for credit, even

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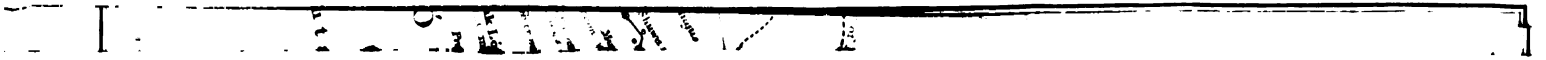

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the very small supply of presents which I was able to take with me. I had only two very indifferent servants, Mohammed ben Habíb and Mohammed ben A'hmed, both young lads from Fezzán, as limited in their intelligence as they were conceited in their pretensions as Moslemín, and not possessing the least knowledge of the country which we were about to visit.

The only animals I had for my conveyance were a horse and a she-camel. Hence I did not set out with that spirit of confidence which ensures success; but, having determined to return to Europe if new supplies did not very soon arrive, I resolved to make a last desperate attempt to accomplish something before I finally left the country.

Mr. Overweg accompanied me as far as Ngórnu, where we took up our quarters with my friend the kashélla Kótokó. Here, in my present destitute condition, I was greatly delighted at receiving, by private message from the vizier, a small parcel of coffee, and from the mállem Mohammed, a loaf of sugar. Such tokens of disinterested friendship are very gratifying to the traveller in a foreign land.

At the beginning of the cotton-plantation I took leave of my European companion. Friday, March 5th. He was to make an excursion, accompanied by Kótokó, along the shores of the lake towards Máduwári — the very place where, in the course of a few months, he was destined to succumb.

I had received from the mestréma a trooper as es-

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cort; but he was not the kind of man I should have liked. If phrenologists had taken his features as the general type of the Negro race, they would have felt themselves authorized in assigning to them a more intimate affinity with monkeys than with men; and his cheerless but self-conceited disposition was in perfect harmony with his exterior.

The waters of the lagoon had already considerably decreased, laying bare fine fresh pasture-grounds, on which numerous herds of cattle were grazing, while small pools of stagnant water, left behind by the retiring inundation, afforded some relief to the monotony of the plain. A great deal of cotton is cultivated on these fertile grounds, and an immense deal more might be cultivated. The people were busy in all directions in the labours of the field, while, on those grounds which were not cultivated, the luxuriant weed of the *Asclepias* was re-assuming its ordinary domain. Scarcely a single tree was to be seen; and only as we proceeded onwards a few specimens gradually appeared.

Thus we passed the village of Kúkiya, where we had taken up our first night's quarters on the expedition to Músgu. Here the deep sandy soil was at times enlivened by isolated clusters of the dúm-bush; and people were digging, here and there, for the rush-nut ("hab el ázíz" or "nefú," *Cyperus esculentus*), which I have mentioned on former occasions. A tract of indifferent cultivation was relieved by a fine field of wheat, belonging to several of the great men or kokanáwa of Kúkawa.

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Having here watered our horses, we wanted to make a halt during the heat of the day, at a hamlet belonging to Háj Ibrahím; but we were rather inhospitably received, and stretched ourselves therefore under the shade of a caoutchouc-tree at some distance from the village. The tree was remarkable on account of a peculiar "sáfi" or charm, which testified to the many remains of pagan rites still lingering in these countries. It consisted of two earthen pots placed one upon the other, and filled with a peculiar substance, and was supposed to guarantee prolificness to the mares of the village. The ground being an ordinary resting-place for travellers, swarmed with insects, principally that large kind of "karí" common to the cattle in this country.

When we started again in the afternoon, we met a caravan, consisting of camels and pack-oxen laden with Guinea corn, which one of our friend Lamíno's people was taking to town from his master's plantation. At an early hour we reached Yédi, which we had also touched at on our expedition to Músgu. I intended to have taken up my quarters inside the town; but the streets were so narrow that I preferred encamping outside. A young Shúwa lad here offered his services to me. At the well where we had watered our horses he had rendered us gratuitous assistance; and I had given him a few needles in return. Being in want of a servant, I accepted his offer, and had strong reason in the course of my travels to be glad of having done so; for although in

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the beginning he caused me some trouble, and behaved at times rather awkwardly, he proved on the whole a very useful servant.

I was hospitably treated in the evening by a young man of the name of Degéji, who had accompanied Mr. Overweg on his voyage on the lake. He was a barber and a musician, and rather a gay sort of person.

Saturday, March 6th. We followed the direct route for Ngála. The country, open at the commencement, became gradually covered by the dúm-bush, and further on by middle-sized trees of various kinds. Besides the wife of my escort trooper, who was to pay a visit to her father in Bagírmi, and who was at least a degree better than her husband, a very cheerful man of the name of Kágo had attached himself to our little troop. He had been acquainted with the members of the former expedition, and was anxious to give me all possible information with regard to the qualities of the various trees and bushes which adorned the wilderness, especially the kári, karáwa, and látram; and on this occasion I learnt that a kind of disease, which would seem to be the stigma of a closely-packed civilization, is not at all rare in these countries: it is here called "dun." Everything testifies to the richness of this country, which is now left to utter neglect. The population of the small villages which dot the landscape is mixed, consisting one half of Kanúri, and the other of Shúwa; and I was not a little surprised to find

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in one of them, which belongs to a man named Mállem Tálbay Sámi, Felláta or Fúlbe mixed with the Kanúri. Most of the Shúwa had already deserted their villages for temporary residences in other quarters.

At an early hour we halted in the village Kostári, the inhabitants of which had seen me on a former occasion. They seem to be very poor, which may however be attributed to their laziness. According to their own account, they were living almost entirely upon the waterfowl which frequent the shores of the lagoon in countless numbers; and indeed the whole village was full of wild geese and ducks. However, I succeeded in getting a little milk, some honey, and kréb, or kashá,—a kind of seed, probably identical with the *Poa Abyssinica*, but of which there are different species: here in Bórnu there are principally two species, called "kashá ngórgo" and "kashá magáya," while in Wáday there are three or four, called "denáng," "líliyák," "shorók," and tanfáfanáng, besides a collateral species called "felé."

It is very remarkable that, while the waters of the lake are fresh, most of the water which is obtained hereabouts, at a very short distance from its shore, is full of natron. The water of this place was so impregnated with that mineral, that it was scarcely drinkable, which was felt the more as the air was oppressive in the extreme; and I felt so exhausted at the commencement of my journey, and after a long stay in the town, that I was obliged to recruit my

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strength with a small remnant of *mastico* which I had with me. The heat was so intense that I felt very grateful when, later in the afternoon, a slight breeze sprung up. My poor animals, however, fared still worse than myself, being tormented by a large blood-sucking fly.

Major Denham travelled on this route, along the south side of the lake: but the road which he took is now entirely given up, on account of the insecurity of the country, and the place, or rather district, Keskári, mentioned by him, lying from three to four hours' march north-east from this place, is entirely deserted; we therefore followed a more southerly road.

The first object which attracted our attention here was a herd of wild hogs, an animal which I had very rarely seen in these regions, but which I afterwards found frequenting in great numbers the country bordering on the river Shári; it even seems to form a substantial part of the food of the natives, not excepting the Mohammedans.

While we were winding along the narrow path leading through the forest, the vegetation all at once exhibited an entirely new and very remarkable feature; for here, all on a sudden, I saw a group of perhaps ten or twelve large trees of arborescent *Euphorbiaceæ*. I have mentioned small specimens of euphorbia, on my journey through Dámerghú, and even in Háusa; but I had afterwards almost entirely lost sight of it in Negroland. Here, however, this plant

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grows to a height of certainly not less than from thirty to thirty-five feet, its succulent, luxuriant, cactus-like leaves contrasting in a very remarkable manner with the monotonous and dry vegetation of the mimosas around. There must be something very peculiar in the soil in this tract; for I never afterwards, in the whole of my travels, beheld the euphorbia attain to such an altitude, the greatest height which I saw it reach being twenty feet. This was in the country of Músgu, in an entirely isolated instance; and even on the journey to Bagírmi I did not meet with a single specimen of this plant, however small.

Proceeding through a part of the forest which exhibited a fresher appearance, and which was enlivened by a troop of horsemen whom we met, we reached the village of Dábuwa at five o'clock in the afternoon. Here we were hospitably received, in consequence of the persuasive manners of my cheerful companion Kágo, while the apish grimaces of the trooper who formed my official escort were quite disregarded. Poultry, milk, and negro corn were given to us for our supper in the evening. In this place the people are not so badly off for water, the well measuring not more than five fathoms.

Sunday, March 7th.

When we started, we entered a very dense part of the forest ("karága tsílim," as the Kanúri say), with a rich variety of trees, but all of middle size, and not a single tamarind- or monkey-bread tree was to be seen. As we proceeded, however, the country became a little more open, the

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"karága tsílim" giving way to the "dírridé," or clear forest, and signs of cultivation were seen. Here I observed that the clayey soil, or "ánge," was intersected by small ridges, in order to retain the water, during the rainy season, for the cultivation of the másakuwá. Cotton also seemed to be cultivated to some extent. In this district, too, the villages contained a mixed population of Shúwa and Kanúri. The village Gujári, which we passed further on, was distinguished by an extensive pottery. Here the road was enlivened by a numerous caravan of pack-oxen laden with grain, on their way to Díkowa, the town described on my expedition to the Músgu country; for, as I have there stated, the cultivation of that place is almost entirely limited to cotton, while all the corn which is required for the consumption of the inhabitants is imported. The cotton is not carried by beasts of burden, but on the heads of the natives; and a little further on we met a numerous train of these people, whose appearance imparted some idea of industry. Passing on our road many patches of that black boggy soil, called "fírki" or "ánge," which I have described on a former occasion, we reached the small village of Hókkum at about half-past eight in the morning.

We had expressly chosen this road in order to avoid the wells of bitter water in the village Jémage, which lies on the southern road; but here we fared worse, for there was no water at all in the village, and we had to send to a great distance to get a small

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supply, the quality of which was anything but agreeable. This scarcity of water, however, seemed to arise only from the laziness of the inhabitants; for the wells are not more than three fathoms deep, and the floods of the lakes themselves occasionally approach so near that it has been found necessary to protect the village on its north side by a dyke. Here we passed the heat of the day in the shade of a kórna-tree, the fruit of which, being just ripe, in want of some better indulgence, we did not despise.

I was greatly surprised to observe here that salt is obtained by burning the dung of cattle. It is indeed very remarkable how the poorer people in Negroland endeavour to supply their want of this article, which in every stage of society has become such an essential ingredient of common diet.

About half an hour after starting in the afternoon, we reached a considerable watercourse, which, bordered by fine spreading trees, had a very pleasant appearance. It is called Komádugu I'mbulú, or Mbulú. This watercourse was asserted by my companion Kágo to be entirely distinct from the Yálowe, or komádugu of Díkowa; and from the experience I had on my return-journey I think he was correct. The banks of the watercourse were twelve feet high; its breadth was from twenty to twenty-five yards; but the depth of the water was only a foot and a half. No current was then perceptible. The trees of the forest, after we left this watercourse, were of a greater variety, but all of rather stunted growth. We ob-

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served here great quantities of the grass called kréb or kashá, which I have before mentioned, and which constitutes a considerable part of the food of the poorer inhabitants. We passed several towns in a state of the utmost decay and entirely deserted; and traversing a dense underwood, which we scarcely expected to see in the neighbourhood of a large town, reached at five o'clock the clay walls of Ngála.

The interior of this town has a very peculiar cha racter, and nothing similar to it is seen in any part of Negroland, although the place at present is in a state of great decay; for all the ancient quarter of the town consists of clay houses, built on an imposing and elevated terrace. The palace of the governor is indeed something quite stupendous for these regions, having, with its immense substructure, and its large and towering walls, the appearance of a large citadel. We were quartered in the extensive mansion of the gedádo or delátu, in which Mr. Tully died; but it, as well as the whole of the town, was in the utmost state of decay. The times of Merám, the beloved wife of the sheikh Mohammed el Amín el Kánemy, had gone by; and the wealth of Ngála had been consumed by the slaves of the present sheikh and his vizier. The once magnificent palace of Méram itself is nothing but a large, desolate heap of ruins.

The quarters, however, which were assigned to me were in a tolerable state of repair, consisting, as they did, of an upper story, which afforded me sufficient protection against the numbers of mosquitoes which

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infest the place. We remained here the following day, when I went to pay a visit to the governor at his residence; but I felt rather sorry for it, as the good impression which the imposing exterior of the palace had made upon me, was destroyed by the ruinous and desolate state of the interior. The whole province is now in a very neglected condition, such as would indicate that the ruler of the country himself acknowledged his incapability of defending his subjects against another inroad of the Wádáy.

The governor was not a very intelligent man; but it was he who first called my attention to the fact that the town of Ngála has its own peculiar idiom, quite distinct from the Kanúri, and I afterwards found that it is even different from the dialects of the other principal places in the province of Kótokó, though it is very closely related to the idioms spoken by the islanders of the Tsád (the so-called Búdduma, but whose real name is Yédiná) on the one side, and to that of the Músgu on the other. At some distance from Ngála is the town of Ndíffu, or Ndifú, which is said to have been one of the latest strongholds of the tribe of the Soy, or Só, whom I have repeatedly mentioned in my historical sketch of the empire of Bórnu; and sundry remarkable ornaments are said to be dug up frequently in that place.

I had seen scarcely any traces of cultivation on the western side of the town; and when we set out again I found as little on the other sides. Nevertheless the environs of Ngála, especially

Tuesday, March 9th.

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the north-east side, are of great interest in the eyes of the Bórnu people, as having been the scene of two important battles fought with the Bagírmi, in the first of which, in the year of the Hejra 1233, the sultan Dúnama was slain; and my companions, who remembered all the incidents of that struggle, pointed out with patriotic enthusiasm the various positions which each body of the combatants had occupied.

The country, however, became very monotonous, extending in an almost unbounded plain of black argillaceous soil of the description mentioned above, although after the rainy season, when the whole ground has become inundated, it is changed into one vast field of cultivation, producing that peculiar variety of sorghum or holcus which is called másakuwá; but at that season the whole of this country is scarcely passable for horses, and still less so for camels. Several small villages, inhabited by Shúwa, were to be seen at some distance to the south. We lost a great deal of time through having missed our way in a forest of small mimosas which surround this plain, till we at length reached a village called Síttahe, where we rested during the heat of the day. The village consists of two separate groups, one of which contains large conical huts for the rainy season, while the other is formed of light oblong dwellings adapted for the dry season, constructed entirely of mats. Here we were entertained by a mállem who had formerly possessed considerable property, but who had suffered greatly from the contributions levied upon him by

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the slaves of his liege lord. It is these impudent slaves of the court, who, having no interest in the welfare of the inhabitants, inflict so much evil on the country. With regard to the settlements of the Arabs in this district of Kótokó, I think that they are not more than two hundred years old. Most of these Arabs belong to the numerous tribe of the Sálamát.

In the afternoon, after travelling about four miles, we reached the town of Rén. This was formerly a considerable place, but it is now almost deserted, and the wall has fallen to ruins; the aspect of the place, however, is very picturesque,—beautiful and wide-spreading fig-trees shading the ruins of high, well-built clay houses. My quarters were better than I had expected,—an excellently-built hut, provided with all the comfort which such a building is capable of affording; but the comfortable repose which the neat appearance of my hut promised me was greatly disturbed by swarms of mosquitoes, that owe their existence to a large swamp at the northern side of the wall. The town of Rén was formerly the centre of a petty kingdom, but it is at present reduced to utter ruin. Its inhabitants have a peculiar dialect of their own. But although the governor was very eloquent in his description of the misery to which his people were at present reduced, yet he treated me very hospitably.

Leaving the swamp abovementioned on one side, we pursued our march through a March 10th.

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fertile and well-inhabited district full of open hamlets, while the corn-fields were enlivened with numbers of kórna-trees, at present laden with fruit. I was pleased to see that the inhabitants of this district follow the same custom as the Músgu people, storing their provision of herbage for the dry season on the branches of the trees. All the inhabitants are Arabs, and belong to the tribe called Welád Megébel, whose chief is called I'sa A'she; the name of the district is Ránganá. At a considerable distance towards the south there is a walled town called Déma, belonging to the sheikh Abba. The Arabs are either cattle-breeders or corn-growers; but further on we saw some cotton under cultivation, after which we again entered upon fírki ground, where my companion called my attention to a new variety of grass called "útutú," the seeds of which, besides the kréb above-mentioned, constitute a great part of the food of the poorer people of this district.

Dense rows of fine tamarind-trees indicated the neighbourhood of a watercourse, which even at present was of some importance, being about 35 yards broad, and 3 feet 9 inches in depth, but without a perceptible current; a small canoe, however, lying on its border, justified the opinion that occasionally it is not fordable, of which I myself received a proof on my return-journey, when I crossed it lower down, near Legári. This watercourse, which in the rainy season conveys towards the lake a considerable quantity of water, is called Komádugu Lebé. There was for-

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merly a considerable town, called Suló, on the other side of the watercourse; but this at present is deserted, and its ruins are overgrown by thick forest. A little distance further on, the site of another ancient town testified to the former importance of this district. We were now approaching the largest town of Kótokó; but scarcely any signs of industry were to be seen, with the exception of a young plantation of cotton, and thick forest approached close to the wall of the town, which is very extensive, but fast falling to ruins.

The whole interior of the town of A'fadé is one vast heap of rubbish, from which only here and there a building in tolerable repair starts forth, the greatest ornament of the place at present being a most magnificent fig-tree of the species called "búske," identical, I think, with the tree called duwé by the Arabs near Timbúktu. I scarcely remember ever to have seen such a noble and luxuriant specimen of this family of the vegetable kingdom. Spreading its vast impenetrable canopy of the freshest and most beautiful green over a great part of the square in front of the lofty ruins of the governor's palace, it formed the chief lounging-place or "fagé" for the idle loiterers in this once industrious and wealthy town.

My quarters, in the upper story of a house, were very tolerable, and, besides being airy, afforded me a view over the nearest part of the town, from whence I had an opportunity of admiring the excellent

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quality of the clay with which these houses are built. Clay, indeed, seems to have entirely excluded, in ancient times, from the country of Kótokó the lighter buildings of reed and straw; and I observed that even many of the round huts were of considerable elevation, being furnished with a roof of clay, which formed a neat terrace surrounded by a low parapet.

There seems to have been a considerable degree of civilization in former times in this little kingdom of Kótokó, or rather in this group of distinct principalities, the independent character of which is clearly shown by the great diversity of its dialects, which vary with every large town: viz. Klésem, Gulfé and Kúsuri, Mákari and Máfaté, A'fadé, Rén, and Ngála. When we consider that this country is not mentioned among the list of the Negro countries by E'bn Sáid (A.D. 1283) which is preserved by E'bn Khaldún*, where even the Kúrí are not forgotten, while it is evidently mentioned by Makrízi †, it appears that it rose into importance in the course of the 14th century. Although we are not able to explain fully the circumstances under which this happened, we may conclude that it was due in some degree to the struggle between the two powerful dynasties of Bórnu and Bulála.

As for the dialect of A'fadé, of which I made a short vocabulary, it appears to form a link between the

* E'bn Khaldún, texte Arabe, vol. i. p. 200.; trad. S. Macguckin de Slane, vol. ii. p. 116.

† Makrízi, in Hamaker, Spec. Catal. p. 206., كاتكرا.

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idiom of the Yédiná*, the islanders of the Tsád, on the one side, and the Músgu people on the other.

In the province of A'fadé a great proportion of the population consists of Shúwa, principally of the tribes E' Nejaíme, and Welád Abú Khodhaír. The governor was absent just at the time, on a small expedition to chastise some of these people, who are very unsettled in their habits, and often refractory. Notwithstanding his absence, however, we were very hospitably treated, our supper consisting, besides a sheep, and numerous bowls of Negro corn, of a dish of well-dressed fish, very palatable, from the river Lebé; there was likewise no scarcity of milk.

March 11th.

It would certainly have been very interesting to have made a few days' stay here, in order to obtain a clearer insight into the peculiar characteristics of this province; but as the more distant object of my enterprise did not allow of a longer delay, I pursued my march. All these towns are very inconvenient for travellers, their gates not being large enough for loaded camels to pass through. When we had reached the great road, where the forest is interrupted by a little cultivation of cotton, I saw two beautiful specimens of that species of antelope which is here called "tigdim," of grey colour and very low in body; I think it is identical with, or nearly related to, the *Antilope annulipes*.

This was the only time I observed this species of

* I repeat here what I have stated, I think, in another place, that in my opinion the Yédiná are meant by Makrízi's انعبا.

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antelope during my travels in Negroland. Great numbers of Guinea fowl, such I had never observed before, enlivened the underwood further on, the ground consisting of a hard soil called by the natives kabé, and covered with only a scanty growth of stunted mimosas. I was much interested in observing here the red species of Negro corn, which seems not to be cultivated by the more civilized tribes of Negroland, but which forms the principal food of the pagan races towards the south. Having passed a Shúwa hamlet — berí Shúwabe, — the country became more diversified. A considerable pond, at present dry, and bordered by beautiful trees, spread out on our left, while our right was bordered by the ruins of a large town called Sú, a name which seems to be a remnant of the ancient tribe of the Só or Soy, which formerly ruled over the whole of this region as far as Kála. A poor old woman, incapacitated by age from reaching the market-town, was sitting in front of the ruined wall, offering to the passers-by the little cotton which she had been able to clean. The country is at present in such a state, principally owing to the turbulent spirit of the Shúwa Arabs, that even this road is regarded as unsafe; and we were therefore obliged to keep together, several inhabitants of Logón having attached themselves to my little caravan. The road divides here, the more considerable path leading to the town of Kúsuri, and the smaller southern one, which we followed, leading to Logón bírni, or Kárnak Lógone.

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We passed two villages called Debábe Gezáwa and Debábe Ngáya, but the latter of which still bears the very remarkable name of Krénik, and is stated by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood to have been the capital, or one of the capitals, of the once powerful tribe of the Soy. The exact period when this town was destroyed I could not ascertain; but probably it happened during the reign of the great Kanúri king Edrís Alawóma, about the beginning of the seventeenth century. More recently this neighbourhood was saturated with the blood of numbers of Bórnu people, in the sanguinary struggle with their neighbours, the Bagírmi or Bágrimma; and it was in one of these conflicts, near the walled town of Míltam, about forty years ago (A. H. 1232), that the sheikh Mohammed el Kánemí lost his eldest and most-beloved son.

Having watered our animals at a shallow stream, spreading out in the meadow-ground, we continued our march, and about half an hour before noon had to cross a very difficult swamp, with boggy ground, where several of our people stuck fast. The whole of this region is subject to partial inundations; but it seems very remarkable that they do not attain their greatest height in, or at the end of, the rainy season, but several months later; and I found afterwards, when I traversed this country again towards the end of August, in the very height of the rainy season, that not only this but the other swamps were considerably lower than they were in March. This circumstance depends on the peculiar nature of

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the Tsád, which reaches its highest level in November, when all the waters carried down by the several rivers and torrents have spread over the whole surface of the lagoon, while the loss from evaporation is then much less than during the hot months.

Continuing through a very thick forest full of herds of wild hogs, which seem greatly to delight in these low, swampy, and densely overgrown grounds on either side of the (river) Shárí, and having passed another swamp, and the forest at length clearing, we obtained a sight of the high clay walls of the town of Kála, starting forth from a beautiful grove of fig-trees, and overtowered by a very lofty, but slightly inclined solitary palm-tree.

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CHAP. XLVII.

PROVINCE OF LOGÓN.—LOGÓN BÍRNI.

KA'LA is the first town of the territory of Logón or Lógone, the boundary of which we had crossed a short time before. Having entered the town through an extremely narrow gate, which scarcely allowed my bare and slender she-camel to pass through, after having taken from her back the whole load, I was struck with the very different aspect it exhibited from the regions we had just left; for while the dwellings testified to a certain degree of civilization, the inhabitants themselves seemed to approach nearer to the pagans than to the Mohammedans. We had scarcely entered the town when we were surrounded by a troop of boys and young lads from seven to twelve years of age, tall and well built, and in a state of entire nudity, a thing hardly ever seen in the country of Bórnu, even with slaves. The type of their features, however, was very different from the general type observed in the Bórnu people, and seemed to indicate more intelligence and cunning. I have already observed, in the country of Músgu, how the state of the dwellings contrasts with the apparel, or rather the want of apparel, of the people themselves; but here it seemed more remarkable, for the

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dwellings in general did not consist of round conical huts, but of spacious oblong houses of clay, of considerable elevation. I was quartered in one of these structures, but found it rather close, and full of dust.

The town presented an appearance of the utmost decay, only a few dwellings remaining in the centre of it; and the only remarkable objects were two palm-trees, one of which I had already observed from without: and I now assured myself that they were not date-trees, but belonged to the fan-shaped group of palms. But they were not bifurcated, and seemed not to belong to the *Cucifera Thebaïca*, nor were they identical with the deléb-palm. At any rate they were the tallest specimens which I ever remember to have seen of the fan-shaped tribe, their height appearing more extraordinary on account of the small tuft of leaves, which was confined to the very top. The town itself presenting no very interesting features, I went out in the afternoon, and lay down for an hour or two, in the shade of one of those beautiful fig-trees which, fed by a large and deep swamp, surround the town on all sides; but, the more pleasant was my day's repose, the more disagreeable was my night's rest, for, owing to these stagnant pools, the town is full of mosquitoes, and neither I myself nor any of my companions were able to get any sleep the whole of the ensuing night.

We therefore rose very early in the following morning, long before day-break, and at four o'clock had already left the gate of the town behind us.

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There is still a great deal of cultivation of cotton to be seen, even in the present state of decay to which this province is reduced; but an immense deal more might be cultivated. Then followed fields of sorghum; and further on, the lowing of cattle and the cackling of hens indicated the presence of a Shúwa village at some distance on our left. Cultivated ground and forest alternately succeeded each other, the wild hog being seen in every direction, while numerous villages were lying about here and there, but at present all deserted, the inhabitants, who belong to the Shúwa, migrating during the dry season towards a large shallow watercourse in the south-west, where they find fresher pasture-grounds for their cattle. This watercourse or ngáljam is famous under several names, being called Bawísh, Madéf, and Burbéde. We then passed on our left the town U'lluf, Húlluf, or Hélib, surrounded by a high clay wall, and almost hidden behind wide-spreading fig-trees, just as is the case with Kála. This town, the name of which is pronounced "Elf" by the Arabs, and of the origin of which they give very absurd accounts, is ill-famed for the presumed witchcraft and sorcery of its inhabitants; and this was the only reason which prevented my companions from staying here during the heat of the day.

We therefore continued our march; and, having passed another swamp, entered a well-cultivated district, where a great deal of sorghum was grown. I was however surprised at seeing the stacks of grain,

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or, as they are called in Kanúri, bágga argúmbe, still standing in the fields.

We encamped a little beyond the temporary village of Sheikh-el Khasés, close to an extensive sheet of water, under the shade of a beautiful tamarind-tree. This piece of water, as the people assured me, only dries up annually for a short time, when the rainy season again fills it. All these native Arabs, as I have already had occasion to remark, are very inhospitable; and the people here, where we had encamped, did not offer us any refreshment. However I succeeded in buying from them a little honey, for a few needles.

When we started again in the afternoon, we had great difficulty in avoiding the swamps. The country at times was well cultivated, producing, besides sorghum, a quantity of beans of the speckled kind; but I was not a little astonished to see, in the midst of the stubble-fields, young crops of that variety of sorghum called "másakuwá." This is a very rare sight in these countries in the month of March, as in general this winter corn is got in during December or January. We then entered a forest, and, following a winding path, reached the rather considerable village Múnke, which belongs to Logón, but is inhabited chiefly by Kanúri. Here I pitched my tent in the market-place, and was not a little pestered by numbers of inquisitive people.

Saturday, March 13th. The country through which we passed as we drew nearer the capital of Logón,

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was of a rich and fertile character, but insufficiently cultivated. Besides grain, there was a great deal of cotton; and numbers of trees of various species gave it a charming appearance, the beautifully rich foliage of several of them relieving entirely the monotony which is usual in these Central African forests. Amongst the underwood the dúm-bush was predominant; gradually, however, the "harás" or "karáge" tree began to prevail. The pods of this tree, which contain the seeds, are not only much liked by camels, but also by monkeys and hogs, both of which seemed to be very numerous, and lived together in the greatest harmony. Numerous holes of the earth-hog (*Orycteropus Æthiopiensis*) were likewise to be seen.

We met a number of native travellers and people going to market, who saluted us in a cheerful manner, and bore testimony to the fact that we were drawing near a larger place; and the neighbourhood of the town was still further indicated by women who had come out to gather wood for the supply of the market. Here I was agreeably surprised to see again my noble old acquaintance of the Músgu country, the deléb-palm or "uray." At first a single specimen appeared towering with its proud fan-like foliage over the numerous karáge-trees that still continued to retain their predominant position in the vegetable kingdom; but when the clayey soil gave way to sand, a large group met the eye, in close array, and full of fruit. It was, however, entirely limited to

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this locality, and I did not meet another specimen between this place and the town.

When we arrived in sight of the wall, my horseman changed his dress, and put on a new glittering black Núpe tobe, in order to make his entrance with greater *éclat*, while I was not a little pleased to meet again here some travelling companions of mine, in whose company I had crossed the Bénuwé on my journey to A'damáwa, and who were once more on their way to the east. We then entered the capital of Logón — Logón Bírni, or Kárnak Lóggon, as it is called by the Shúwa, or Kárnak Lógone or Lóggene, as it is called by the Kanúri. The town on this side (the north-western) has only one gate; and it was so narrow that we were obliged to unload the camel before we were able to pass through. The energy and activity of this place is naturally concentrated on the eastern side towards the river, where it has seven gates.

The interior of the town, where we entered it, had not a very animated appearance. The cottages, belonging evidently to the poorer classes of people, are in a wretched condition; and the only animation which the scenery presented was due to a group of dúm-palms, towering over this poor quarter from the north side. The character of the place improved, however, as we advanced; the streets were tolerably large, and I was struck with the appearance of the principal street, or déndal, which is formed by the palace of the sultan or míyará, towards the south,

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and the house of the Keghámma or Ibálaghwán, towards the north.

The entrance to the palace of the sultan—the "raána míyará" in the kélakú Logón or language of Logón,—is towards the east, where there is an open square, shaded by a few trees; here I was obliged to wait a long time on horseback, while my quarters were getting ready, for etiquette did not allow me to dismount. The sun was very powerful, and my situation not exactly pleasant; but it afforded me some amusement to observe the flights of falcons and other birds, who were nestling in the top of a group of tall dúm-palms which towered above the walls of the mosque opposite the palace.

I had also the pleasure of recognizing an old friend of Major Denham's, namely, Belál, the man who accompanied him as well on his expedition to the Shárí as to Kánem. This man, whose real name was Mádi, and who was an extremely amiable and good-humoured personage, with a disposition akin to the character of Europeans, continued my friend during the remainder of my stay in Bórnu. His errand here at present was to collect the annual tribute which the ruler of the country of Logón has to pay to the sheikh of Bórnu.

The quarters assigned to me were situated in the upper story of the palace of the Ibálaghwán, which surprised me not a little by the superior and even grand style of its architecture. This very spacious palace consists of a number of wings inclosing small quadrangular courtyards, and having an upper story

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of extensive apartments. The only part which did not correspond with the magnificence of the rest of the building, was the staircase, which was rather dark and inconvenient. My own apartment was not less than thirty-five feet long, by fifteen wide, and as many high, and received sufficient light from two semicircular windows, which, of course, had no glass, but could be closed by means of a shutter of reed. The ceiling was gable-shaped—rather a remarkable phenomenon in these countries; it was filled out with thatchwork.

But not only were my quarters excellent, but the treatment I received also was hospitable in the extreme; for I had scarcely taken possession of my lodgings when a bowl of very excellent pudding made its appearance. The thievish propensities of the people of Logón are very remarkable; and the first intimation which I received of it was an official caution given to me to beware of the slaves of my house.

Having recruited my strength a little, I went with Kashélla Mádi to pay my compliments to the Ibálaghwán or Keghámma. We found him in the apartment marked *a* in the ground-plan. At first he was invisible, sitting behind his matting curtain, "parpar" or "farfar," which the Háusa people, in humorous mood, call by the name of "munáfeki" (the sinner), and which is made of a fine species of reed-grass; but he soon allowed me to approach him. He was a tall, elderly man, of a cheerful disposition,

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and smiling countenance, with nothing in his behaviour to intimate that he was not a free-born man; and certainly his position was an eminent one, as he was the second person in this little kingdom, and held an office corresponding to that of a prime minister or vizier. His name is Herdége. Having made him a small present for himself, which was rather insignificant, but which, as it consisted of a quantity of articles, seemed to satisfy him, I showed him the present I intended to make to his master. Poor as I was at the time, and destitute of means, I had determined to give away my Turkish trowsers, of very fine brown cloth, which I had scarcely ever worn, in order to pave my way in advance; for besides this article I had only some small trifles to give, such as shawls, knives, scissors, frankincense, and a few spices. The keghámma having approved of my present, I immediately went with Mádi Belál to pay my respects to the sultan, or rather Míyará himself.

The palace of the sultan is a very extensive building surrounded by a wall fourteen feet in height, and corresponding to the height of the house of the keghámma.

The public part of the building consists of very large courtyards, separated from each other by covered apartments. In the first courtyard, marked *a* on the ground-plan, in a sort of shed, the eunuchs (or, as the people of Logón say, the "bille-melágem") were assembled. I was not a little surprised to find here two cannons of iron, certainly of not very good work-

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manship, and very old, but furnished with frames. Having waited here some time, till my arrival was announced, I proceeded to another antechamber, marked *b*, the whole of the building looking very neat and orderly. The courtyard probably measured not less than one hundred feet in length, by about thirty feet in width. Having then traversed another antechamber and courtyard of about the same dimensions, we reached the public court of audience, furnished with a raised platform, on which stood the royal throne,—a rough kind of seat covered with a baldachin of planks, and painted red. The sultan however, at present, was not here, but was sitting in his private room *e*, behind a matting curtain; and I was desired to address him without seeing him. I therefore paid him my compliments, addressing Kashélla Mádi in Kanúri, and he interpreting what I said into the language of the country. I begged to inform the Míyará that the sultan Inglíz, who, during the reign of the former chief of Logón (the míyará Sále), had sent Khalílu (Major Denham), had now instructed me to pay my respects to him. He was greatly delighted at this compliment, and inquired repeatedly after the health of the sultan of the nasára Inglíz. Having made use of the opportunity afforded by the matting of observing me without being himself observed, and seeing that I was something like a human being, and evidently of an innoxious kind, and the present having been carried into his presence, he called me inside his room, saluted me in a very friendly manner, and shook hands with me. He then begged me

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to explain to him the presents, taking extreme delight in the articles of English manufacture, including even the large darning needles; for, small and insignificant as these articles were, he had never seen their like. He even counted the needles one by one, and assigned them their respective owners in the harím. The principal favour which I had to beg of him was to allow me to navigate the river to some distance; and having granted my request, he dismissed me very graciously.

On the next page are ground-plans of the houses of the sultan and keghámma.

Yúsuf, or, as the people of Logón say, Y'suf (this is the name of the present sultan), is a tall, stout, and well-built man, apparently about forty years of age, with large features and a rather melancholy expression of countenance, which I attribute to his peculiar and precarious political situation, being the ruler of a small kingdom placed between two predominant neighbours, who harass him incessantly. He has been sultan about nineteen years, and was a young man at the time of Denham's visit, when his father Sále and his elder brother 'Abd el Kerím shared or rather disputed the government with each other. He had two more elder brothers of the names of Chiróma and Marúfi, both of whom died before him. Just at or shortly before the beginning of his reign, as it would seem, owing to an expedition into the country by Dáúd, one of the war-slaves of the sheikh Mohammed el Kánemí, Logón became a tributary

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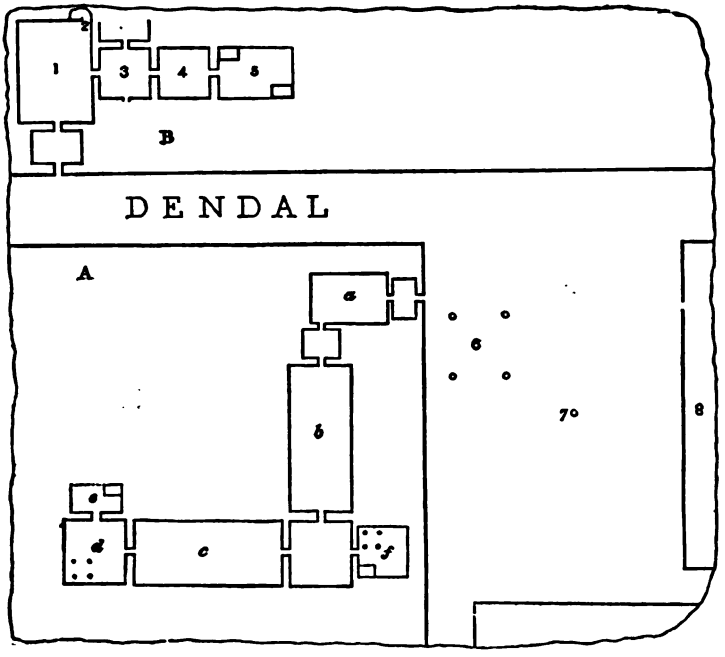

A. HOUSE OF SULTAN.—*a*. Great Courtyard. *b*. Second Courtyard, about 100 feet long by 30 wide. *c*. Third Courtyard. *d*. Inner Courtyard, with shed and throne. *e*. Room of Sultan. *f*. Stabling.

B. HOUSE OF KEGHÁMMA.—1. Large Court. 2. Staircase leading to the upper apartments. 3. Courtyard. 4. Second Courtyard. 5. Room of Keghámma, with two couches, that in the background being raised above the floor.

6. Shed built of mats and poles in front of the palace.

7. Caoutchouc-tree.

8. Mosque or "Dabáldemá," shaded by some fan-palms, or as the people of Logón say, "gurúru."

province of Bórnu, being subjected to an annual tribute of one hundred slaves, and the same number of shirts or tobes. Previous to that time, the ruler of this little country is said to have made an annual present of only two slaves.

Our treatment was hospitable in the extreme; and

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it seemed almost as if our host had a mind to kill us with excess of kindness, for in the evening he sent us four enormous bowls of well-prepared pudding of sorghum, together with meat and broth, and early the next morning a large bowl of gruel seasoned with honey, and a few moments afterwards three or four bowls of hasty-pudding. Fortunately there were people enough to consume this plenteous supply of food; for there was a large party of Bagírmi people returning to their country from Kúkawa, and to them I gave up these luxuries, but afterwards they repaid my kindness with ingratitude. Being desirous of having a look at the town, I sallied forth in the afternoon with a well-mounted trooper, who was attached to my friend Kashélla Mádi, by the western gate, and then turning round towards the east, proceeded in the direction of the river.

At this corner the river bends away from the wall to the distance of about an English mile, being from 350 to 400 yards across; the western shore was low at this point, but on the opposite side it rose to the height of from 12 to 15 feet. It was enlivened by about 40 or 50 boats, most of them about 4 feet at the bottom, and 6 feet at the top, and remarkable for their formidable prows. All these boats are built in the same way as those of the Búdduma, with this exception, that the planks consist of stronger wood, mostly bírgim, and are generally of larger size, while those of the Búdduma consist of the frailest material, viz. the wood of the fógo. The joints of the planks

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are provided with holes through which ropes are passed, overlaid with bands of reed, and are tightly fastened upon them by smaller ropes, which are again passed through small holes stuffed with grass. Their elevated prow seems to indicate the shallowness of the water as well as the vehemence of the current which in certain seasons of the year sweeps down the river, and which I experienced on my return when it was full. At present, the water was rather shallow, and several sand banks were to be seen. My principal attention was attracted by the fishing boats, which were furnished with large nets suspended from the poop by two immensely long poles, called "the two hands," "músko ndí," by the Kanúri people, and "sémi" by the people of Logón.

We then continued along the shore, which becomes gradually more and more compressed between the wall and the river. Where the latter approaches nearest the wall there are corn-fields, which are continually irrigated from the river. The stalks of the corn at present were 1½ foot high. As I have observed in another place, wheat has only recently been introduced into Negroland, and wherever a little is grown it is only known by the Arabic name "el kámeh." The generality of the inhabitants do not relish it, but it is esteemed a princely food. Of course, corn is also dearer where it does not grow spontaneously, the tropical rains being too powerful for the tender plant, so that it can only be grown in the dry or rather the cold season, near the rivers or swamps, by artificial irrigation.

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Delighted with the view which the scenery of the river exhibited, we reached the most eastern gate on the south side of the town, when suddenly an old man with an imperious air forbade me to survey the river, and ordered me to retrace my steps directly. I was rather startled and confounded, as, having the permission of the sultan, I could not imagine who besides himself had such authority in the place, and could forbid me to do what he had allowed me; but my companion informed me that he was the king of the waters, the "maráleghá," and that he had full command over the river or "lagham." I had heard and read a great deal of the authority of the king of the waters, the "serkí-n-rúwa," in the countries on the Niger, but I was not aware that a similar custom prevailed here. Confused, and rather ashamed, I re-entered the town through the next gate.

Close to this gate was the house of the Ghaladíma, or Malághwán; and I was induced to pay him a visit. He seemed to be rather an effeminate person, living in a dark and well-perfumed room. The visit was of no other interest than that it gave me some further insight into the ceremonial of the court of this little kingdom, the very existence of which was denied by so eminent a man as M. Fresnel a few years ago.*

The first thing I did on returning to my quarters was to expostulate with the keghámma on the authority exercised by his colleague, the king of the

* Bulletin de la Société de Géogr. de Paris, s. III. vol. xi. p. 30; vol. xiv. p. 159.

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waters; and he promised me that the next day I should visit the river, and even navigate it, without the least hindrance. However, there was so much talk in the town about my surveying the stream, that I was obliged in the course of the afternoon to pay the vizier another visit. He was very anxious to know whether if once embarked in a boat upon the water I might not jump out in order to search for gold; when I told him I was rather afraid of the crocodiles. This expression of my fear contributed a great deal to alleviate his suspicions, for it seemed that until then he had supposed Europeans to be a sort of supernatural beings, and exempt from every kind of fear.

Our treatment was hospitable in the extreme,—so much so that two hundred persons might have feasted upon the dishes that were sent to me. But besides all these dishes of native food, my hospitable host sent for my own private consumption a large fat sheep, and an enormous jar of milk. This very splendid treatment, however, created a great deal of jealous and envious feeling in the breasts of those Bagírmi people whom I have before mentioned, although they themselves reaped the greatest benefit from the liberality of the sultan towards me. From what I observed, I think I may draw the conclusion that it is the general policy of the ruler of this little tributary kingdom to treat his guests well, and certainly it is a wise one; but I dare say I was especially favoured by the sultan.

March 15th. With extreme delight I had cherished the plan of navigating the river, although, of

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course, from the very beginning I could not expect to achieve great things, for the means which were at my disposal at the time did not allow me to overcome any serious obstacles which might be thrown in my way; but besides this, the authority of this little prince of Logón extends only a short distance along the shores of the river.

At eight o'clock I was aboard of my little boat or "wöam."* I thought that I should have got one of the largest size; but none was to be obtained. The boat, however, which was finally assigned to me, though measuring only twenty-five feet in length by about four feet in the middle, was tolerably strong, the planks of which it consisted being recently sewn and stuffed in the way above described; but, of course, this method of shipbuilding is far from rendering the vessel watertight. The boats being without seats, large bundles of reeds are placed at the bottom for the passengers to sit upon, with nothing to prevent them from being drenched with water.

While we crossed to the other side of the river, passing numerous sandbanks which at present had been laid bare, the town presented quite an interesting prospect, the wall being overtopped by dúm-palms, or "gurúru," a pair of deléb-palms, "murgúm," and an isolated date-tree, "díffino," † these three species

* This word is only another form of the name which the Yédiná give to the boat, viz. "pum."

† It is very remarkable and interesting that the date-palm, in all these countries as far as Bagírmi, goes by the Háusa name "debíno," from which circumstance it is plain that it was first introduced into that part of Negroland. Even the Fúlbe of Sókoto

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of palms growing together in this place in a very remarkable manner; for it is a rare thing to find them in one and the same spot.

The river, while skirting the town, forms a bend, and changes its course from a west-easterly to a northerly direction. While gliding along the eastern shore my companions called my attention to a species of very tall reed, which they call korókoró, but which is nothing else than the papyrus, which, as I have observed, grows on the shores of the Tsád, and which we shall find in several smaller lakes. But it was highly interesting to me to hear that the natives in this country prepare a peculiar sort of cloth or "gábagá" from it, which I think must be identical with the cloth mentioned by Arab writers under the name "wórzi berdí," being the Egyptian name for papyrus. However, I did not observe here several other species of the reed which grows on the Tsád, principally the bolé; and on inquiring for that beautiful variety from which the fine matting "kasár" or "farfar" is made, and for which the people of Logón are so celebrated, I was informed by my companions that it only grows near the large market-town Jínna, of which I shall have occasion to say something more further on. I was very anxious to know how the natives called this river, to which, by Major Denham, the name of Shárí or Sháry has been

have no other name for it, while those of A'damáwa call it after the tree of the native date, viz. the addwa or *Balanites Ægyptiaca*. But the Sónghay and Mába or Wadáy languages have quite independent names for this palm.

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given, and I was confirmed in the opinion which I had previously formed, that this river is not the Shárí, but a small branch of it; Major Denham, during the short stay which he made here, not being able to ascertain that this river, which he saw at the town of Logón, was not the same as that which he saw at Kúsuri, but only a branch of it, and the smaller one. However, all the names given to rivers by the various tribes of Negroland have no other signification than that general one of "water," "river," from the western great "Bá," of the Mandingoes by the I'sa of the Sónghay, Eghírrëu of the Imóshagh, "Máyo" of the Fúlbe, Gulbí of the Háusa, Kwára of the Yóruba, Bénuwé of the Bátta, Komádugu of the Kanúri, the eastern "Bá" of the Bagírmi, the Fittrí of the Kúka, the Bat-há of the Arabs of Wáday. Thus the name "Shárí" also signifies nothing more than "the river," that is to say, the river of the Kótokó, to whose language this word belongs, and the word "tsáde," or rather "tsádhe," seems nothing but a different pronunciation of this same name, the original form of which is probably "sáre" or "sághe."

This smaller western branch of the Shárí the natives of Logón call "Lághame na Lógone," that is to say, the river ("lágham") of Logón; but higher up it has different names, according to the places which it passes by, being called by the Músgu people in their own language "E'ré," or "Arré," a name which itself means nothing else but river; while in another place, where I reached it on my expedition to the

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Músgu country, it bears the peculiar name "Serbé-wuël," I do not know exactly for what reason. Meanwhile we were passing by the village Hónkel, which lies on the western side of the river, and which as I shall soon have occasion to observe, was of great importance in the former history of this country. The river changing its direction here, we again approached the western shore, and saw that at least half the inhabitants of the town had come out to see what the Christian was doing on the river; for they could scarcely imagine that I had embarked for any other purpose than to search for gold. In the midst of the crowd some horsemen in a very showy dress were observed, and I was informed that they were people from A'dishén the Músgu chief, just arrived with a message; and I soon observed that they were priding themselves on a dress which they had received from their oppressors, on the expedition in which I and Mr. Overweg accompanied the latter.

Seeing a crocodile raising its head just above the water close to the other side of the river, I could not resist firing at it, when the crowd burst out in loud cheers of acclamation. The servants of the sultan, however, who had accompanied me in the boat, had been for some time uneasy, and wished me to return; and on reaching a beautiful solitary deléb-palm, or "margúm," as they are called by the people of Logón, I could no longer resist the pleadings of my companions to abstain from proceeding further. We had here an extensive view over the river, its principal

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direction being from south 20° east. All these large and splendid streams with which nature has endowed these regions are now scarcely of any use to the people living on their banks; and no traffic, except between the nearest places, is kept up.* A wide field for improvement is here open to the energy of man when these regions have been brought under the notice and the influence of Europe.

Turning our boat, we allowed it to go along with the current. The surface of the water was so smooth and pleasant, that I was tempted to take a bath, and there was a great shouting amongst the crowd on the shore when they saw the white man jump overboard; but their surprise was great when, after having splashed about for some time in the river, the current of which was too strong for my weakened frame, they saw me come out empty-handed, and they cried out that they had been cheated,—the people having told them that I was searching for gold. However, when I disembarked, the crowd of spectators was so immense, that my companions could only open me a passage with their whips; and I was really glad when I again reached the house of the Keghámma or Ibálaghwán.

This little excursion, however, cost me dear; for those people of Bagírmi whom I have mentioned before, the principal among whom was called Háj A'hmed, seeing me creating such an uproar, felt inclined to

* I have however to observe that the Kúrí sometimes bring native corn as far as Búgomán.

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suppose that, if I should enter their own country in the absence of the ruler, I might create a disturbance in the kingdom. The prince of Logón, likewise, had formed far too high an idea of my capacity, and begged me most earnestly to stay some time with him, thinking that he might derive some profit by making himself more independent of his neighbours. Amongst other things, he wanted me to fire off those two guns which I have mentioned before; but their whole appearance inspired me with too little confidence to do so.

As it was, I had a great deal of trouble in persuading the sultan to allow me to pursue my journey eastward; but seeing that if I were to stay here a few days longer I should spend the little I had left, I was firm in my purpose of extending my discoveries beyond my predecessors, Major Denham having already succeeded in reaching this place, although he has only very insufficiently described it, and entirely failed in fixing its right position. I therefore proceeded to take leave of Míyará Y'suf the next morning, when I found him in the courtyard numbered *f* in the woodcut, which he seemed to use as stables. His whole stud, however, appeared to consist of only three or four horses of tolerable appearance. He himself was sitting on a raised platform of clay (segáge) dressed very simply, and wearing a red woollen shawl round his head. He was very kind and friendly, and begged me most urgently not to make a long stay in Bagírmi, but to return as soon as possible. Our con-

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versation this time, as well as on the former occasion, was in Kanúri, which he understood perfectly well.

Logón is, it seems, not a national, but a political name, although I have not been able to make out its exact meaning.* The inhabitants belong to that great race of the Mása whom I have mentioned on a former occasion, being the brethren of the Músgu, and the kinsmen of the inhabitants of Mándará (the Ur-wándalá) and the Kótokó. Their political existence as people of Logón (or, as they call themselves, Lógodé Logón) is quite recent†, and their Islám is of still more recent origin. Their country also, like that of the Músgu, was formerly split into a number of small principalities, the chief of Hónkel being the most powerful among them, till about a century and a half ago, when Bruwá, the predecessor of Míyará Mása, is said to have founded the town of Logón, and to have removed the seat of his principality to the present capital ("bírni," or "kárnak") of the country. But this ruler, as well as his immediate successors, was a pagan, and probably at that time there were only a few Mohammedans in the place; and Míyará Sále, the old prince whom Denham visited, the father of the present ruler Yúsuf, is said to have been the first among the petty princes of this country who were converted to Islám. Others assert that an older king, Mógha Jénna, was the first Moslim; and this is not at all improbable

* I think it has no connection with the river or lágham, else they could not call it "lághame Lógone."

† The name is not mentioned in the annals of Edrís Alawóma.

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as the names of some of the kings who preceded Sále evidently show that the influence of Islamism, at least to outward appearance, was felt at a much earlier date.

With regard to the order of succession from Mása down to Sále, it seems that Mása was succeeded by a prince of the name of U'ngo Aná-smadú, who was followed by U'ngo Aná-logón, the prince to whom, possibly, the present name of the country Logón is to be referred; he was succeeded by Mógha 'Alí, then followed Mógha Káder, and then the predecessor of Sále, namely, Má Sálikwá. Hence, at the very utmost the Mohammedan religion is not above sixty years old in this country; and many of the younger inhabitants of the place are well aware that their fathers were pagans by birth, and afterwards turned Mohammedans. Of course their Islám, even at present, is of a poor character; and the whole knowledge of religious matters which they possess, with the exception of a few elevated persons, consists of a few phrases which they learn by heart without understanding their meaning, and the practice of circumcision. In the country towns, however, even at present, most of the people are pagans.

The inhabitants of Logón fought repeatedly with their neighbours and kindred of Mándará, and seem to have been successful in that direction. They are also said to have once destroyed the town of Mélé, which lies on the eastern side of the river Shárí, and to have killed all the male inhabitants. The former

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sultans of Bórnu seem to have left the people of Logón in enjoyment of tolerable tranquillity, being content with a small tribute which they made them pay as a mark of subjection. But at present the tribute is considerable, considering the small extent of the country, and moreover the unfortunate petty prince of this small kingdom is compelled to pay another tribute to the sultan of Bagírmi, whose people harass him continually.

The name which the people of Logón give to their western neighbours is interesting, as its origin seems to go back into a remote age; for they call them Billangáre, or rather, "bílle Ngáre," a name which was probably derived from Ngarú, the ancient capital of the Gháladí, or the western provinces of the Bórnu empire, which I have mentioned on a former occasion; "bílle" means people in general. As for their eastern neighbours, the Bagírmi people, they call them by the name of Mókkode, which might seem to have some connection with Makada, a name often applied to the country west of Abyssinia, and which I think is erroneously stated to mean Christian.

From the south-west the Fúlbe or Felláta press heavily upon them; and, as we have seen on the expedition to Músgu, the elderman in the village of Wáze, which belongs to the territory of Logón, is himself a Púllo or Felláta.

The people of Logón in former times seem to have made frequent inroads into the country of their neighbours and kinsmen the Músgu, in order to supply

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their want of slaves; but about eight years previous to my visit they seem to have suffered so severe a check in that quarter, as to make them desist from undertaking any further expeditions. Upon that occasion they lost their commander-in-chief, Keghámma or Ibálaghwán Yáhia *, the same who built the really imposing palace where I was lodged. This commander undertook an expedition into the Músgu country, not, as usual, by land, but by water, and having gone on shore near a village called Gúmmel, was taken by surprise, and together with the most valiant of his companions, was slain by the natives of the country.

The government seems to be a limited monarchy, the sovereign being surrounded by a number of high functionaries, who form the divan or "tálubá," identical with the nógoná of the Bórnu people. The first of these high functionaries is the Ibálaghwán, next follows the Málaghwán or Gháladíma, then the Mairáy, then the Madám, the Marágha or king of the water, the Wulangháy or Chiróma (the claimant to the succession), the Maraymarbá, the Madamátiyá, the Madám ukhsám, the Intháwa, the Mághawén akhthám, the Másaghé akhthám, and the Mághalé-muté.

The territory of Logón is most advantageously situated near the point of junction of two considerable rivers; the river of Logón, the Lágham, or E'ré towards the west, and the Shárí or Bá towards

* I will here give a list of the Ibálaghwáns, as far as they came to my knowledge. I'ba-Gáre, I'ba-Kyári, I'ba-'Othmán, I'ba-Káder, I'ba-Abú, I'ba-A'dem, I'ba-Sáide, I'ba-Yáhia, I'ba-Herdége.

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the east; and it might be a most happy little kingdom if it were not overwhelmed and oppressed by its more powerful neighbours, who, as we have just seen, encroach upon it on all sides. But while the Bórnu people levy a more regular tribute, the people of Bagírmi seem to treat the poor inhabitants of the districts nearest their borders with the greatest injustice, subjecting them, in a very anomalous manner, to all sorts of contributions. Nevertheless, from the list of the places which I shall subjoin in the Appendix *, it will be seen that the country is still tolerably well inhabited, though certainly it cannot now be said to be in a very flourishing condition.

As for the food of the natives, fish ("kíyi") in which the river is extremely rich, constitutes a great proportion of their live stock; but cattle ("nthá") as well as sheep ("wúfu") seem to be extremely rare, and it has the appearance as if their neighbours had deprived them entirely of this article of wealth and comfort. The native Arabs however are tolerably well supplied with both. Poultry also seems not to be very numerous; but the hog ("sése") abounds in immense quantities, and seems to be often resorted to by the natives as an article of food. Besides sorghum or, as they call it, "mákalá," and millet, "víyo" (the "fíyo" of the Kótokó and Yédiná — rice I did not observe), a great deal of cotton, "mpátakí," is grown in the country; and weaving constitutes one of the

* Appendix III., No. II.

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principal employments of the people. Indeed their shirts ("labú") are of very excellent manufacture; but their indigo ("mógoné") is not very good, nor are they expert in dyeing.*

In addition to their cotton, which ought to be cultivated to an unbounded extent in these low and richly irrigated regions, the beautiful lattice-work of cane before mentioned, the common sort being called "parpar" or "farfar," while a better kind is called "móman," constitutes one of their most famous manufactures; their wooden bowls ("dalgwam") likewise, and the round straw covers ("killé"), are remarkable; for the bowls are of very good workmanship, much better than they are seen in Kúkawa, although they do not attain to that excellency which is observed in the manufactures of Dár Fúr.

Altogether the inhabitants of this country seem to be a clever race, and are in general handsomer than the Bórnu people, the women in particular. It is remarkable that they use almost the same sort of tattooing as the Kanúri, consisting of sundry curved lines along the cheek, generally six, running from the outer angle of the eye down to the mouth; it is also curious that they have the same word for it † as the Kanúri, although their languages are so entirely different in other respects.

* The reader will see that my judgment in this respect is very different from that which Denham passed on them (*Travels and Discoveries*, i. p. 237.); but Denham never visited Kanó, and had no standard for judging what was good and what was not.

† The Kanúri call it "béli," the lógodé Lógone "bél."

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My stay in the country, of course, was too short to allow me to speak more decidedly respecting their moral qualities. The currency of pieces of iron as money, which Denham observed in his time*, has long been abolished; and at present the standard money of the place is cotton strips of from two to three inches in width.

With regard to the language of the people of Logón, Denham has committed a great mistake in supposing that it was identical with the language of Bagírmi; for though what he heard was really the language of Bagírmi, which is spoken to a great extent by the natives, yet their original language, which is spoken exclusively, among the people themselves, is quite distinct, being nearly related to that of the people of Músgu. They call their language kélakú Lógonc. As far as I became acquainted with it, the pronunciation is very difficult, on account of the many aspirated sounds, especially that of "kh" or "th;" and in this respect it has some resemblance to the English.

* Denham, i. p. 238.

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CHAP. XLVIII.

THE TWO RIVERS.—ENTRANCE INTO BAGÍRMI.

March 16th. IT was ten o'clock in the morning when I left Kárnak Logón in order to penetrate into unknown regions, never before trodden by European foot; and a short time afterwards I was sitting in the boat, while our horses, the camel, and the bullock were partly swimming across and partly fording the river. The water was in general shallow, though in the deepest place it measured eight feet and a half. The current was about three miles an hour. The country at that period had a very different appearance from what it presented on my return from Bagírmi. At present all those low grounds, which later in the season are entirely inundated, had a swampy, cheerless aspect, and I hastened onwards in order to escape from the unhealthy locality, heated by the rays of the mid-day sun. Only now and then a small patch of cotton-ground was seen between the tall jungle. Close to the river there is scarcely a single tree; but further on, where the country becomes more cultivated, isolated karáge-trees, together with straggling groups of cottages,

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were seen here and there. Not having exposed myself to the mid-day sun during the last few days, and the heat being very great, I looked for a place to pass the hottest hours of the day; and to the disappointment of my companions, who were anxious for a good dinner, I dismounted under the cool shade of a beautiful wide-spreading fig-tree, "ngábbere," or "zérra," as the people of Logón call it, at some distance from a little village called Sóso, situated towards the north, while on our right there was a watercourse winding along through a shallow depression in the green meadow grounds, without any visible inclination. These shallow watercourses are, as I have already had occasion to mention on my journey to Músgu, one of the most characteristic features in this part of Central Africa, which formerly was thought to be a dry elevated waste. Naked young lads were splashing and playing about in the water, together with wild hogs, in the greatest harmony; never in any part of Negroland have I seen this animal in such numbers as here about the Shárí. Calves and goats were pasturing in the fields, with wild hogs in the midst of them.

When we pursued our march at two o'clock in the afternoon, I was greatly pleased to see numbers of fine horses round the groups of Shúwa villages which bordered the watercourse; while the whole scenery was enlivened by the rich foliage of wide-spreading trees. Onions likewise were cultivated here in considerable quantities. On the right of our path were very extensive fields, of a peculiar kind of winter-

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corn, called "sáffará" by the people of Logón, and "kérirám" by the Kanúri. This belongs to the ruler of the country; but in general very little grain is seen in this part of Logón, the inhabitants being afraid of the people of Bagírmi, who used to gather the harvest of what they themselves have sown. But small cotton grounds are occasionally observed.

After a march of about nine miles we reached a place called Báta, half deserted, and surrounded by a clay wall, in a very decayed state. Nevertheless, the few cottages that remained, simple and unpretending though they were, testified to some degree of industry and cleanliness. Of hospitality, however, we received no proof; and the authority of the Míyará Y'suf seemed to be nought indeed, these poor people affirming, with some show of reason, that as the ruler did not protect them against the unjust exactions of their neighbours, they need not respect his commands. There was, therefore, little necessity for the servant of the sultan accompanying me any further, for if they did not respect his orders here, they would certainly not do so further on.

Wednesday, March 17th. We continued our march alone. On the east side of the town a little cultivation was to be seen, the country here being very swampy, and inundated during the rainy season. It is covered with a dense jungle; and wild beasts are in great numbers. Water is close under the surface of the ground, and the well that we passed near a Shúwa village was only three fathoms deep. Near

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the village of Atmarchári, which we left on our right, there were traces of cultivation, trees being cut down and the ground cleared to make room for corn-fields; the village is inhabited by Kanúri people. Soon after, the forest became denser than before, climbing plants running up the trees, and hanging down in festoons from the branches. Here it was that I first saw the footprints of the rhinoceros, an animal which is unheard of in all the western parts of Negroland. The people of this part of Logón call the animal "bírní," the name usual in Bagírmi, while the real name in the language of the country is "ngirmé." The Kanúri call it "kárgadán," or "bárkaján"—the very name mentioned already by El Edrísi.* It is greatly feared by the inhabitants, who sometimes encounter these ferocious animals on the narrow footpaths which wind through the thick forests of their country.

I had gone on a little in advance, when suddenly I beheld, through the branches of the trees, the splendid sheet of a large river, far larger than that of Logón. All was silence! and the pellucid surface of the water undisturbed by the slightest breeze; no vestiges of human or animal life were to be seen, with the exception of two riverhorses (called "niyé" by the people of Logón), which, having been basking in the sun on the shore, plunged into the water at our approach. This, then, was the real Shárí, that is to say the great river of the Kótokó

* Sheríf el Edrísi, trad. Jaubert, vol. i. p. 72. كركدان

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(for Shárí, as I have said before, means nothing else but river), which, augmented by the smaller but very considerable river of Logón, forms that large basin which gives to this part of Negroland its characteristic feature. The river at this spot runs from S. 30° W. to N. 30° E., but its general course is rather winding, coming further upwards from the south, and beyond forming a reach from E. 38° N.

The shore, where I stood enjoying the tranquil but beautiful scenery, is closely approached by the forest, and has an elevation of about fifteen feet. No human habitation was to be seen, with the exception of a small village on the other side. The surface of the water was undisturbed, except now and then by a fish leaping up; no waterfowl enlivened the banks; not a single boat was to be seen, till at length we observed the ferrymen on the opposite shore, where it formed a flat and sandy beach, making us a sign that we were to proceed a little higher up the river, in order not to miss the landing-place when carried down by the current. We therefore went about 800 yards further up; and I made myself comfortable under the shade of a tree, awaiting the boat, and indulging in the thought that I was soon to enter a new country, never before trodden by European foot.

At length the boat came; but the ferrymen, as soon as they saw who we were, behaved in a strange and mysterious manner, and told us that they could not take us across the river before they had informed

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their master. However uncommon such a precaution seemed to be, I had as yet no idea of the real state of affairs. We therefore sat down patiently to await the answer, which we thought a mere matter of form. The atmosphere was very sultry, and the sky overcast; clouds were hanging over the river, as forerunners of the rainy season. In order to keep off the deadly stings of the blood-flies from our horses, we made a large fire. The sting of this fly is almost as fatal as that of the "tsetse" in the southern parts of this continent; and many travellers lose all their horses on the shore of this river.

I was suddenly aroused from my tranquil repose by the arrival of a numerous troop of pilgrims on their way to Mekka; all of them belonged to the tribe of the Fúlbe or Felláta, mostly from the western parts of Negroland, and some from Góttokó, the little-known country between Bámbara and Kong. Amongst them were also the people who had accompanied me on my journey to A'damáwa, and whom I had again met a second time near the town of Logón. I made them a present of needles, in order to assist them in their praiseworthy undertaking. While we were chatting together, the boatmen returned, bringing with them the astounding answer that the chief of the village, A'su, would not allow me to cross the river.

We could at first scarcely imagine what was the reason of this unforeseen obstacle, when the boatmen informed us that Háj A'hmed, the head man of those Bagírmi people whom I have mentioned as returning

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from Kúkawa to their native country, had assured them that I was a most dangerous person, and that the vizier of Bórnu himself had told them there was great danger that, if I should enter the country of Bagírmi in the absence of the sultan, I might upset his throne, and ruin his kingdom. As there were some of the chief men of the village in the boat, we used every means to convince them of the absurdity of such calumnies; but all was in vain, and it became evident that we should certainly not be allowed to cross the river at this spot.

For a moment I hesitated whether I should retrace my steps to Logón bírni, there to await the return of a messenger whom I might send to the sultan of Bagírmi, or whether I should try my fortune at some other point of the river. I could not well perceive from whence the obstacle proceeded; whether it was really the vizier of Bórnu who was the cause of these intrigues, as he knew that it was my earnest desire, if possible, to penetrate into Wáday; or whether it was the Sultan of Logón, who, by compelling me in this way to retrace my steps, might think to persuade me to stay longer in his company. The Bagírmi man, I had, as far as I knew, never offended in my life—on the contrary, in the town of Logón I had treated his whole troop, and given besides some small presents to himself; but he might have been jealous of me, seeing that the sultan of Logón honoured me in so remarkable a manner. He had been to Kúkawa, in order to purchase there some articles of

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manufacture which were not to be had in Bagírmi, and which he hoped to sell to advantage to the sultan of his country. Perhaps he thought that I was also a merchant, and might spoil his market. Considering therefore all these points, I at length decided upon trying to cross the river at another place.

Having in consequence retraced our steps a little more than two miles, along the path we had come, in order to make the people believe that we were returning to Logón, we turned off from our track to the northward, and winding along in a north-easterly direction, at times through a dense forest, at others, passing small villages or hamlets, where scarcely any corn was cultivated, though cotton was grown to some extent, and evidently employed the activity of the inhabitants in weaving and dyeing, we reached the larger village Búgarí. Here the inhabitants, who, like those of most of the villages hereabouts, belong to the Kanúri race, received us with great kindness and hospitality, and without delay assigned us quarters in a large courtyard. My companions told the people that we had missed the direct road to Mélé, and tried even to pass me off as a "sherif;" but unfortunately there was a person who had seen me at the ferry of A'su, so that the hope of crossing the river at some other place without further obstacle was not very great.

Nevertheless, I was resolved to try every means in my power in order not to miss the opportunity of exploring a new country; and for a dóra, or small

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shirt, I was promised by the "billama" of the village a guide, who early the next morning should conduct me to the ferry of Mélé.

Thursday, March 18th. Before daybreak we began our stealthy enterprise, and entered the woods, led on by a tall, well-made, muscular, and half-naked lad, well armed with bow and battle-axe. Passing through a district where, besides cotton, a great deal of native corn was cultivated, all belonging to the inhabitants of the village where we had passed the night, and following our narrow unbeaten footpath, we at length emerged upon the direct well-trodden track which leads straight from Logón to Mélé, although it is very winding. At first underwood was greatly intermixed with dúm-bush or ngílle; but after a while the aspect of the country suddenly changed, the lower ground on our left expanding in fine meadow lands interspersed with pools of stagnant water, the deposit of the last year's inundation, while on our right we had the site of a former town, called Yesínekí, densely overgrown with forest.

Here we came again in sight of that fine river which forms the western boundary of the kingdom of Bagírmi, and which intriguing men wished to prevent me from crossing. The slope of the bank is here broken, forming a small terrace before it descends to the edge of the water, the upper slope being at present covered with a green turf, while the lower one, which rose fifteen feet above the surface of the river, consists of loose sand. Here again we disturbed

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Drawn by J.M.Bernatz, from a Sketch by Dr Barth.

M & N Hanhart, lith.rs et Imp.rs

THE SHÁRY AT MÉLÉ
March 15th 1853.

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some [illegible] which had been quietly basking in the sun [illegible] no time in making signs to the ferrymen opposite that we wished to cross, while I hastened to the [illegible] of the rushes growing on the shore to make a slight sketch of the [illegible] scenery of the river, with the village on the other side. We were delighted [illegible] a short delay, we saw a boat leaving the village going round the sandbank which stretched out in the middle of the river, and coming towards us. All our success now depended on a few minutes; and as soon as the ferrymen touched the shore we satisfied their claims, and entered the boat, which was large and commodious.

It was with very satisfactory feelings, although mingled with some degree of uneasiness, that I found myself floating on this noble river, which was here certainly not less than 600 yards across. The sandbank is a little nearer to the eastern shore, and the whole current ("ngáda" in Kanúri, "amma-wá" in Lógone) keeps along that side, while on the western shore the river sweeps slowly along, and in general appears not to be very deep. In the shortest, the poles of the ferrymen indicated a depth of [illegible]. Our camel, horses, and bullock had [illegible] the river by swimming alongside the boat, till [illegible] the northern end of the sandbank, when [illegible] walked along the sandy beach; the sandbank [illegible] at present about 250 yards in length. The current between the sandbank and the eastern shore was

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some crocodiles which had been quietly basking in the sun, and lost no time in making signs to the ferrymen opposite, that we wished to cross, while I hastened to the rear of the rushes growing on the shore to make a slight sketch of the interesting scenery of the river, with the village on the other side. We were delighted when, after a short delay, we saw a boat leaving the village, going round the sandbank which stretched out in the middle of the river, and coming towards us. All our success now depended on a few minutes; and as soon as the ferrymen touched the shore we satisfied their claims, and entered the boat, which was large and commodious.

It was with very satisfactory feelings, although mingled with some degree of uneasiness, that I found myself floating on this noble river, which was here certainly not less than 600 yards across. The sandbank is a little nearer to the eastern shore, and the whole current ("ngáda" in Kanúri, "ámma-wá" in Lógone) keeps along that side, while on the western shore the river sweeps slowly along, and in general appears not to be very deep. In the channel, the poles of the ferrymen indicated a depth of fifteen feet. Our camel, horses, and bullock had to cross the river by swimming alongside the boat, till we reached the northern end of the sandbank, when they walked along the sandy beach; the sandbank being at present about 250 yards in length. The current between the sandbank and the eastern shore was

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very strong, and the water deep, though fortunately the distance was only about 200 yards.

Having crossed this imposing stream, we entered the small harbour of Mélé, and as soon as we reached the shore were saluted by a "chiróma," or squirrel, which, running about freely, and wagging its tail, seemed to offer a good omen for a happy arrival in this country. The inhabitants also, who were employed in various ways at a small wharf used for building the common craft of the river, received us in a friendly way, more especially as I made a small present to a sort of official personage who has the title of "Kashélla," and added a few needles in addition to the fare paid to the boatmen. I was agreeably struck by the fine figures of the females, their comely appearance and very becoming head-dress distinguishing them most advantageously, not only from the Kanúri, but even from the people of Logón.

Having here spent a few minutes re-loading our camel and exchanging compliments, we hastened on, ascending the higher bank, which here rises to about twenty-five feet, and leaving the village to the left, close to the steep slope overhanging the river. But we had only proceeded about a mile, delighted at the idea that, notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in our way, we had succeeded in entering this country, when we saw a person advancing towards us, whom my horseman recognized as a servant of the chief of A'su. This incident could not but fail to lessen our hopes of success considerably. Had the chief of A'su been

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more careful in discharging his duty, and sent a messenger the evening before, or early the same morning, I should never have entered Bagírmi.

As it was, having allowed the man to proceed on his mischievous errand, we consulted together a moment, and thought it best to leave the path, and strike across into the stubble-fields; for there is much cultivated ground belonging to Mélé, which, although lying close to the river, is more of a farming than a fishing village. New ground was being cleared. Trees were being cut down, nothing but the trunks being left, in order to protect the dresses of the labourers from the ants. The whole country was well cultivated, and, being shaded by numerous trees, presented a very interesting appearance. After about half an hour's march across the stubble-fields, without any direct track, we reached a well-trodden path coming from Klésem, a considerable village lying lower down the river, and still belonging to Kótokó, with a peculiar idiom of its own. Following then this track, we reached a shallow watercourse of the same nature as those mentioned on former occasions. The Bagírmi people call them "kámané" or "gúgulí." It was enlivened by a settlement of Shúwa cattle-breeders of the tribe of the 'Agaífe, and stretched out in great length from S.S.W. to N.N.E., forming a very peculiar feature in this part of the country; it is called "Ambusáda" or Mbusáda. Where we crossed it the water was only a foot deep, the whole of the bottom of the shallow bed being covered with the richest verdure.

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We then kept close along its eastern side, having a rising ground on our left, with a most splendid border of beautiful trees, chiefly of the fig kind. It was a scenery which reminded me of the Músgu country, with this exception, that the watercourse was not so broad, and the rich foliage of the trees was not occasionally broken and diversified by the deléb-palm. An almost uninterrupted line of hamlets skirted this narrow strip of verdant fertility, and now and then groups of people were seen issuing from the thick foliage, while numerous herds of cattle were spread over the green swampy meadow-lands, some half-immersed in the water, and nipping off the fresh shoots of the young grass, while others were roaming about on the dry herbage near the border. Amongst the cattle, birds of the most beautiful plumage, and of every description and size, were sporting and playing about: there was the gigantic pelican dashing down occasionally from some neighbouring tree; the maraboo (*Ciconia M.*), standing like an old man, its head between its shoulders; the large-sized azure-feathered "dédegamí," strutting proudly along after its prey, the plotus, with its long snake-like neck; the white ibis, eagerly searching for its food, with various species of ducks (geddégabú, or "dabá"), and numerous other lesser birds in larger or smaller flights. Now and then a wild hog suddenly started forth from the covert of the forest, accompanied by a litter of young ones, and plunged eagerly into the water. There was here a rich and inexhausti-

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ble field for the sportsman; but I could not think of sport, for I was conscious that something was going on to stop my progress.

Perhaps it would have been more prudent to have gone on without stopping; but I felt the heat of the sun very much, and, seeing that I could not traverse the country by force, preferred resting during the heat of the day under the shade of a fine wide-spreading ngábbore or ngáto (fig-tree) at the side of a Shúwa village. I here endeavoured in vain to barter a few things with the inhabitants; but, to my great astonishment, neither milk nor anything else was to be had, though cattle were seen grazing in every direction. But the people told me that the great number of cattle collected together on so narrow a slip of pasture-ground was the very reason they had so little milk. These Shúwa people, who belong to the tribe of the Welád ʿAlí, call this shallow water Msél el Háj ʿAlí, after the name of their principal chief.

I was quietly reclining in the cool shade, although not without some sad forebodings, when the head man of Mélé, accompanied by seven or eight armed Shúwa, was seen approaching. They first addressed themselves to my horseman Gréma, who had made himself comfortable in the shade of another tree a short distance off. Having finished their business with him, they came to me, protesting that they could not allow me to continue my journey, as they were compelled to wait for an order from the capital, when I did not hesitate to declare on my part that I was willing

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to wait any reasonable time, on condition of their assigning me a residence, and the means of supplying my wants. They expressed their satisfaction at my compliance, telling me that in case of my refusal they would have sent all the Shúwa in the neighbourhood to harass me on the road. The head man of Mélé then promised me that, if I would return to his village, he would take care that I should be supplied with everything I wanted, particularly fowls and milk.

I therefore allowed Gréma to proceed alone, in order to take my letters to the capital, while I slowly retraced my steps. An hour and a half's march along a more direct path brought me back to the village where I had first entered this country.

The position of Mélé is not without interest, situated as it is upon a steep bank overhanging a large and beautiful navigable river, which here changes its course from a west-easterly to a south-northerly direction; and here I might have indulged a few days in contemplating the interesting scenery, if my future progress had allowed me more tranquillity. As it was, the six or seven days I passed here were spent in rather a dull manner; for the inhabitants became very suspicious when they observed that my favourite place was the shade of a fine tree at the very brink of the shore, from whence I had a view over the river to a great extent north and west. Of course there was but little communication; and very rarely a boat was seen proceeding in either direction. Now and then the sand-bank became enlivened by a crocodile coming out of the water to bask in the sun, or by the frolics

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of the boys of the village, who occasionally crossed over to look after their fishing-tackle, or dry their nets. Both fish as well as crocodiles are extremely plentiful in the river; and the meat of the latter forms a great delicacy to the natives. But there is also in this river a very large animal, which, I think, must be identical with the ayú of the Bénuwé and Niger—the *Manatus Vogelii*.*

To the north-east the village was bordered by thick forest, which at a little distance was traversed by the lower course of the Ambusáda, which was here extremely rich in verdure, and full of the favourite haunts of the hog. I here, also, observed a considerable number of monkeys. It was during my residence in this place, likewise, that I first obtained a clear knowledge of the nature of the Shárí, and its relation with that of Logón, the point of junction of the two rivers being a little below Kúsuri, at a place called Síña Fácha, while I obtained a great deal of information —certainly not quite clear and distinct—of the towns and principalities on the upper courses of these rivers. I also learned that last year the river had overflowed its banks, and entered the very huts of the natives. Nevertheless, at this spot the banks were at present more than forty feet high.

As for the name of the river, the name which is generally given to it, viz. Sháry or Shárí, belongs, as

* I think it is this animal which is mentioned by Burckhardt (Travels in Nubia, Appendix I., p. 433.) as the ام قرغی This name must be given to it by the Shúwa, but I did not hear it.

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I have mentioned on a former occasion, to the language of the Kótokó. The Bagírmi people call it only Bá, distinguishing it in the various parts of its course by the names of the different villages which are situated on its banks, as Bá-Mélé, Bá-Busó, Bá-Gún, while the Arabs call it at this place Bahr-Mélé, and a little higher up from the other village, Bahr-A'su. When the whole river, therefore, is sometimes called A'su, the relation is quite the same as the komádugu Wáúbe being called Yeou or Yó.

But while I was thus able to employ my time not quite unprofitably, my comforts were not quite so good as I had been led to expect, neither fowl nor milk being procurable, and the fresh fish of the river, which I was occasionally able to procure for a handsome present, not agreeing with the weak state of my stomach; although it was excellent and very palatable. There is a small market held at a village about five miles distant, of the name of E'diye, and every Wednesday another market, a little more important, near a village of the name of Chínge.

My impatience was augmented by the unmistakable signs of the approach of the rainy season, while the numbers of mosquitoes allowed me but little rest during the night. The sky was usually overcast, and occasionally early in the morning the whole country was enveloped in a dense fog. Though rather cool in the morning, the weather became sultry towards the middle of the day, and heavy squalls of wind sometimes set in in the afternoon. I would will-

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ingly have shared the company of the sultan in the expedition, although the news which arrived from the camp was not altogether of a satisfactory character. The pagan inhabitants of Gógomí, against whom he was waging war, were reported to have descended from their mountain strongholds, and to have slain a considerable number of his people, and amongst them a well-known Arab from Morocco, who accompanied him on this expedition.

Thursday, March 25th.

It was about noon, when to my great delight my trooper Gréma 'Abdú returned from his errand. He was accompanied by two attendants of the Zérma, or rather Kadamánge, the lieutenant-governor whom the sultan had left during his absence in command of the capitul. I was disappointed, however, in my expectation that I should now be allowed, without further delay, to reach the capital myself, for the messengers produced a document provided with a large black seal, to the effect that I was to await the answer of the sultan in Búgomán, a place higher up the river, the inhabitants of which, together with those of a neighbouring town, called Mískin, were to provide me with fresh fish and milk during my stay there. Although anxious to join the sultan himself, I had nothing to object to such an arrangement, and was glad to move on, if it were only a little. Our path on leaving the village kept along the steep north-easterly bank of the river, which here separates into two branches, of which the eastern one has more the nature of a creek.

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The island thus formed was thickly wooded, and with the exception of a small hamlet of fishermen, seemed to be left entirely to the possession of wild animals; for while we clearly distinguished a flock of about a dozen large antelopes of the species called "mohor," or "himraye" (*Antilope Soemmeringii*), we were not a little surprised at seeing a string of not less than twenty-two crocodiles all lying quietly on their backs on the sandy beach, and basking in the sun. None of them, however, were remarkable for their size, the largest measuring apparently from twelve to fifteen feet.

Our march was rather short, my companions taking up quarters for us in the small village called Límshi, situated two miles and a half higher up the river, or rather creek.

Here there was a tolerable degree of activity, and several boats were lying near the banks. Having just before observed such numbers of crocodiles, I was not a little astonished at seeing the women, who were fetching water, bathing without apprehension in the river. The island opposite, at this spot also, was densely covered with wood, but a little higher up there is a village of the name of O'diyó. Our reception in the village was very inhospitable, and gave me a bad idea of the authority of the lieutenant-governor, under whose protection I was travelling.

Friday, March 26th. Our march for the first mile and a half led through stubble fields, after which we

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entered a dense forest filled with numerous creeping plants, but otherwise of a rather uniform character; awaiting the reviving power of the rainy season. The shallow watercourse Mbusáda, or Msél el Háj 'Alí, was all the time close on our left, till we crossed it, at a distance of about five miles. We then pursued our march through cultivated grounds, where, besides millet, a little cotton also was raised, at other times proceeding through clearer forest, and soon reached the village Mustafají, which was the native place of the wife of my escort Gréma 'Abdú.

Here we were quartered without delay; but the huts were not remarkable either for their size or architecture, consisting entirely of thatch and reed, the lower part being only slightly touched with clay, and during the hot hours of the day the heat of them was really suffocating. The inhabitants are all Kanúri, who, having emigrated from Bórnu during the time of the decay of that empire, have settled here as well as in other parts of Bagírmi, where they have introduced the little civilization which at present is seen, especially weaving and dyeing, which is here carried on to a considerable extent. The Shárí or Bá, in a direct line, is only about seven miles distant towards the west, and the inundation even approaches the very village by means of the shallow depressions and watercourses which intersect the country. A great extent of ground was under cultivation.

The inhabitants of the village behaved very hospita-

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bly, and my horseman's father-in-law, a very jovial and decent looking man, made me a present of a fat sheep. The only difficulty was the water, the well, notwithstanding its depth of fifteen fathoms, containing only a very small supply. Scarcity of water seems, indeed, to be one of the great disadvantages of Bagírmi.

We remained here the whole of the forenoon of the following day, and did not start until half-past two in the afternoon. The country which we traversed was well inhabited, and a good deal of cotton was to be seen; and it was here that I first beheld it cultivated in ridges and furrows, a manner of culture which, I think, is constantly adhered to in America as well as in India, but in Negroland very rarely; the cotton plants growing on the ridges, but being at present quite bare of leaves. All the cotton plantations which I had seen previously in Negroland were left to themselves, and were rather in a wild state; but here they seemed to be well kept and taken care of. At a village called Mútkomí my attention was drawn to the great numbers of asses; here the ground was full of the holes of the fének or *Megalotis*, called by the native Shúwa population "bú hassén."

Further on, a firm and dry clay soil succeeded. Having then passed a large village of the name of Búgarí, we took up our quarters a little before sunset in a village called Matuwárí, which belongs to a wealthy and learned man called Legári Bú-Músa, and were very hospitably received. These people were also Kanúri, and I was delighted to observe some signs of industry

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in the shape of a small dyeing place, which contained two pits.

At an early hour we pursued our march, approaching the town of Búgomán, where I was to await further orders from the sultan. The country exhibited signs of considerable cultivation, and numerous farming hamlets, called "yówëó" by the Bagírmi people, were spread about; at present, however, they were tenantless, being only inhabited during the rainy season by the "field hands," as an American would say. March 28th.

After a march of about four miles, and having passed a swampy meadow ground with numerous traces of the rhinoceros, we again stood on the banks of the great river of Bagírmi, the Shárí or Bá, which here, where at present it formed a wide flat sandy beach *, at first sight seemed very inconsiderable, compared with that noble character which it had exhibited lower down, so that I almost supposed it to be nothing but a branch of the principal river, although my people repeatedly assured me this was not the case; that small branch which higher up, a little above the town of Míltu, separates from it, passing by Busó and Báchikám, a few miles to the south of Máseñá, having just rejoined it near the town of Mískin, of which the taller trees, if not the

* Before coming to the main river I had to traverse a small stream of very cold and limpid water, running in the opposite direction to the river; but I do not know whence it may proceed.

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houses, were visible from hence. The river here forms a long reach from south to north, but higher up, beyond Míshin, comes from S.S.E. The bank on this side was very low, which is the reason that the river during the inundation spreads over a greater extent of country. The ground shelves very gradually, and the river seemed shallow at a considerable distance from the beach, but its depth on the other side may be the more considerable, the opposite bank on which the town of Búgomán stands being rather steep.

The town, seen from this distance, seemed to be rather in a state of decay, — at least as regarded the wall; but it was pleasantly adorned with a variety of trees, among which deléb- and dúm-palms were the most conspicuous. It was market-day, and in the cool of the morning numbers of people were collected on the south-eastern beach, where we had arrived, awaiting the return of the ferry-boats: so that altogether it exhibited quite an interesting scene. But gradually the bustle subsided, and the heat of the sun on the sandy beach became almost insupportable; for, notwithstanding my warning, we had left the green border of trees and herbage far behind us, and had advanced along the broad sandy beach, which at present was dry, to the very edge of the water. My escort, together with the two servants of Zérma, had gone into the town to announce my arrival, and to inform the head man of the order of the lieutenant-governor, that I was to await here the

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commands of the sultan: but no answer came. In vain did I endeavour to protect myself from the burning rays of the sun by forming a temporary shelter of my carpet; for the sun in these climes is never more severe than just before the setting-in of the rainy season, and we had generally at two o'clock between 106° and 110°. As noon passed by, I grew impatient, especially as I had nothing to eat, there being no firewood, even for cooking a very simple dinner.

At length, a little before three o'clock, my messengers returned, and their countenances indicated that they were not the bearers of satisfactory news. The governor of Búgomán refused obedience to the direct order of his lord the sultan of Bagírmi, and declined receiving me into the town. Nothing was left but to retrace our steps to the village Matuwárí, where we had been so hospitably entertained. Dragging therefore behind us the sheep which we had not yet been able to slaughter, we returned by the same road we had come.

Here we remained the following morning, and I had sufficient time to reflect on my condition in this country. There could not be the least doubt that the greater part of the inhabitants were unfavourably inclined towards the stranger; and I was persuaded that the best course for me to pursue would be to return to Logón, and there quietly await the answer of the sultan; but my companions were not of my opinion, and assured me I was not at liberty to leave

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the country after I had once entered it. It was therefore decided that we should proceed in the direction of the capital, and make our further proceedings dependent upon circumstances. The reason we did not start at once was because my companions wanted to pass the extensive forest which lay before us in the night-time, as there was no water for a whole day's march, and our people were unprovided with water-skins.

In order to employ my leisure time, I took a walk to Búgarí, the village above mentioned, it being market-day; and I was glad, considering the little civilization which is to be met with in these regions, to find a good deal of traffic going on in the market. There were about twenty head of cattle, between sixty and eighty sheep, and about a dozen asses to be sold; there were, moreover, a good assortment of black and white tobes, a tolerable supply of butter and honey, besides millet, beans, and ground-nuts; the latter, especially, were very plentiful, and bore ample testimony to the fact, that in these regions, also, this valuable article of commerce grows in great quantities, and forms a considerable portion of the diet of the natives; but as for cotton, the supply was rather limited.

The staple commodity of the market were tobes, half-tobes, and single strips of cotton, or fárda, about three inches wide, and from three to four drà in length. Unfortunately, I was destitute of this kind of money, the people rejecting with contempt those miserable little shirts, or dóra, which I had brought with me

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from Bórnu; so that, notwithstanding the good supply of the market, I might have remained unprovided. I however succeeded in buying a few fárda for some needles, paying four needles for each fárda. I bought also a little butter for some beads.

The whole of this district is very scantily supplied with water; and the well in Matuwárí, which is only two fathoms and a half deep, contained very little. The wells in Búgarí were three fathoms deep, but were no better supplied. Of course, by digging to a greater depth, and constructing the wells in a proper way, the people might secure a sufficient supply; but they prefer walking every day to a far distant village for a little water rather than employ a few weeks industriously in making a durable well.

After a cordial parting from the male and female inhabitants of the village, we started about three o'clock in the afternoon; and with the exception of a short halt, about sunset, in a small hamlet called "Búru-nyígo," or "hyænas' den," we continued our march without interruption till past eleven o'clock at night. The village just mentioned lies at the border of the wilderness; and here we had not only to water our horses and to lay in a supply of water for ourselves, but I had also to give medicine to some people who had followed me all the way from Búgarí.

Having rested for a little more than five hours in the midst of a forest, without being molested by man or beast, we continued our march through the dense jungle full of trees and thick underwood, while larger

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trees became more and more scanty. Gradually the forest became clearer, and flocks of turtle-doves seemed to indicate that there was water in the neighbourhood, although such a conclusion drawn from the presence of this bird is sometimes liable to error.

After the rainy season the character presented by this forest must be very different, and a little further on, evident signs of former cultivation began to be visible, even of sesamum ("márrashi," as the Kanúri, "kárru," as the Bagírmi people call it), as was evident from the deep furrows which intersected the ground. The inhabitants of two or three small hamlets dragged on a miserable existence even during the drought which at present prevailed; and we met a large body of women and children, who preferred fetching every night and morning their supply of this most essential element from a distance of several miles rather than desert their native village.

Having passed another hamlet, likewise destitute of water, and left several villages at a greater distance surrounded by a tract of cultivated ground, we at length reached the longed-for El Dorado where water was to be found; and, as may be presumed, there was a great bustle round the well, which had to supply the whole thirsty neighbourhood. Numbers of people, camels, and asses were thronging around, longing for the moment when they might come in for their share; and as the well was ten fathoms deep, a considerable time would necessarily elapse before they

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were all supplied. Being saluted in a friendly way by the people, I pitched my tent in the shade of a large chédia or caoutchouc-tree, which, however, was very scanty, as the young leaves had not come out, and afforded very little relief from the heat of the sun.

Here it was for the first time that I tasted a dish of sesamum, which was prepared in the same manner as millet, in the form of a large hasty pudding, but, being insufficiently seasoned by the common African sauce of the leaves of the kúka or monkey-bread tree, did not appear to me to be a very dainty dish. The village, the name of which is Mókorí, had a comfortable appearance; and the pounding of indigo in the dyeing-pits went on without interruption, even during the heat of the day. Some Fúlbe or Felláta shepherds live in the neighbourhood; and I was fortunate enough to barter a little butter for glass beads, as well as a small supply of rice — that is to say, wild rice, for rice is not cultivated here, but only gathered in the jungles from what the elephant and rhinoceros have left. Altogether I might have been very comfortable, if my uncertain situation in the country had not caused me some anxiety.

When we pursued our march in the afternoon, our road lay through a fertile country, where the cultivation was divided between millet and sesamum, till we reached the first group of the village of Bákadá, which consists of four distinct hamlets. Here my companions wanted to procure quarters for me; but

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fortunately the head man of the village refused them admittance, so that they were obliged to seek for hospitality in another hamlet, and it was my good luck to obtain quarters in the house of a man who forms one of the most pleasing recollections of my journey. This was Háj Bú-Bakr Sadík, a spare old man, of very amiable temperament, to whom I became indebted for a great deal of kindness and valuable information.

While I pitched my tent in his small courtyard, he was sitting close by, and was informing me in very good Arabic, that he had thrice made the pilgrimage to Mekka, and seen the great ships of the Christians on the Sea of Jedda. He remembered minutely all the different localities which he had visited in the course of his long wanderings.

Delighted that by chance I had fallen in with such a man, I sent away the next morning my horseman Gréma 'Abdú, and the two messengers, to the capital, in order to inform the lieutenant-governor that the chief of Búgomán had refused obedience to his direct order and denied me admittance into the town, and to ask him what was to become of me now. Sending him at the same time a present, I begged him urgently to allow me either to enter the capital or to retrace my steps to Bórnu. Gréma promised me that he would return the next morning with a decisive answer. However, he did not keep his promise, but remained absent full seven days, although the distance from the capital was only about ten miles. It

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was therefore very fortunate that I had the company of Bú-Bakr Sadík, for no other person would have been able to give me such an insight into the character and the history of these regions as this man.

He drew a spirited picture of the great national struggle which his countrymen had been carrying on against Bórnu, he himself having taken part in several battles. He boasted, and with reason, that slaves of his master had twice beaten the sheikh Mohammed el Kánemí, and that the sheikh had only gained the victory by calling to his assistance Mústapha el A'hmar and Mukní, the two succeeding sultans of Fezzán, when, by destroying the towns of Babáliyá and Gáwi, and by taking possession of the capital, he made himself temporary master of the country. He described to me with delight how his countrymen had driven back the Felláta who were endeavouring to establish the Jemmára in their country, and that they had undertaken afterwards a successful expedition against Bógo, one of the settlements of that nation.

Bú-Bakr indeed might have been called a patriot in every sense of the word. Although a loyal subject, and humbly devoted to his sultan, nevertheless he beheld with the deepest mortification the decline of his native country from the former wealth and importance it had enjoyed previous to the time when 'Abd el Kerím Sabún, the sultan of Wáday, conquered it, plundered its treasures, made the king tributary, and led numbers of the inhabitants into slavery. Thus

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the whole well-being of the country had been annihilated, and not only their wealth in silver and cattle had disappeared, but the ruin and decay extended even, as he considered, in his melancholy frame of mind, to nature,—whole districts which had been formerly under cultivation and covered with villages being now changed to a wilderness, and regions which had formerly been well supplied with water suffering now the extreme of drought. Worms, he told me, were devouring their crops and vegetables, dooming them to starvation.

All this was true as far as regarded the present state of the country; for though I cannot say whether its physical condition was ever much more favourable, still as to its government and political importance there certainly was a time when Bagírmi enjoyed greater prosperity. It might seem indeed as if the country was visited by Divine chastisement, as a punishment for the offences of their ancestors and the ungodly life of their former ruler. In no country in the whole extent of Negroland which I have travelled over have I seen such vast numbers of destructive worms, and such a predominance of ants, as in Bagírmi. There is especially a large black worm called "hallu-wéndi," as long as the largest grub, but much bigger, which, swarming in millions, consumes an immense proportion of the produce of the natives. Bú-Bakr showed me also another far smaller, but not less voracious insect, which they call "kunjungjúdu," a beetle about half an inch long, and of a yellow colour;

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but the poor natives, like the inhabitants of other countries in the case of the locust, do not fail to take their revenge, for when the insect has grown fat and big at their expense, they devour it themselves, —a habit which may be one of the numerous relics of their former pagan existence, it being still a general custom with the Sókoró to eat a large species of beetle called "dernána."

Of other species of worms I shall have occasion to speak further on; but with the white and black ants I myself waged repeatedly a relentless but unsuccessful war during my residence in the country. Already, the second day of my stay in Bákadá, I observed that the white ant (*termes fatalis*) was threatening my couch, which I had spread upon a very coarse mat, or "síggedí" as the Kanúri, "lába" as the Bagírmi people call it, made of the thickest reed, with total destruction. I therefore, for want of a better protection, contrived an expedient which I thought would guarantee my berth against the further attacks of those cruel intruders, placing my couch upon three very large poles; but I soon had cause to discover that those ferocious insects were not to be deterred by such means, for two days afterwards, I found that they had not only built their entrenchments along the poles, and reached the top, but had eaten through both the coarse mats, finished a large piece of my Stambúli carpet, and destroyed several other articles. And during my further stay here I had the greatest trouble in preventing these insects from destroying

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all my things; for their voracity and destructive powers seem to increase towards the beginning of the rainy season, which was fast setting in.

The weather was exceedingly sultry, and we had the first thunder-storm on the 3rd of April; and from that time we experienced a tornado almost every day, although in general there was not much rain.

The village itself, of course, afforded very little entertainment. In former times it had been nothing but a slave or farming village, or "yóweó," while the masters of the field-hands resided at another place called Kústiya; and it was only a few years previously that they had taken up their residence at this place; nevertheless even at present it is nothing better than a farming village, grain being the only produce of the place, while the inhabitants do not possess a single cow, so that milk and butter are great luxuries, and even a fowl quite out of the question. But as for grain, Bákadá is not without importance; on the contrary, it is one of the chief corn-growing places in the country, especially for sorghum (ngáberí," or, as they call it, "wá"), while millet ("chéngo") is not so extensively grown.

A market is held every Sunday, near the western hamlet; but it is very miserable indeed, and it was all the worse for me, as the people refused to accept in payment any of those small articles of which I was still possessed, all my property at the time consisting of 3000 shells — that is to say, little more than a Spanish dollar,—a small assortment of beads, and a

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few looking-glasses, but principally needles, while here also the people required what I had not, namely, the cotton strips which I have mentioned above. The only luxury offered for sale in the market was a miserable lean sheep; and, as a representative of foreign civilization, there was half a sheet of common paper.

This was the sole attraction of the place, with the exception of my amiable, intelligent, and kind host Bú-Bakr Sadík. The poor old man was extremely indignant at the negligent manner in which I was treated; but he was feeble and timorous, and had no authority in higher spheres. The information which from time to time I collected from him during my monotonous stay in this place shall be given in the appendix, in the several places to which the subjects refer. It was very amusing for me to observe that the good old man, all the time that he was conversing with me, was not a moment idle; but he would either sew, not only for himself, but even articles of dress for another wife of his, whom he had in the capital, and soon intended to visit, or he would scrape some root to use as medicine, or else select some indigo, for dyeing his tobe, or, if he had nothing better to do, he would gather the single grains of corn which had fallen to the ground,—for in his pious frame of mind he thought it a sin that so valuable a proof of the bounty of the Almighty should be wasted.

The other inhabitants of the place were rather uninteresting; and I had a great deal of trouble with

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the same man who on our arrival had refused us hospitality, for, as he was sick and wanted a cooling medicine, I found the common remedies with which I was provided too weak for his herculean frame, till at length, with a dose of half a dozen ounces of Epsom salts, mixed up with three or four drachms of worm-powder, I succeeded in making him acknowledge the efficacy of my medicines.

In general the Bagírmi people are much better made than the Bórnu, the men excelling them in size, as well as in muscular strength, as they do also in courage and energy of mind, while the women are far superior. The Bagírmi females in general are very well made, taller and less square than the ugly Bórnu women, but with beautifully-proportioned limbs, while their features have a great deal of regularity and a pleasing expression; some of them might even be called handsome, with their large dark beautiful eyes. The broad nostrils of the Bórnu females, which are still more disfigured by the ugly coral on the left side of the nose, are entirely foreign to them. While the Bórnu females in general endeavour only to excel by the quantity of fat or butter which they put upon their hair, the Bagírmi women bestow considerable care upon its arrangement; and the way in which they wear it, imitating exactly the shape of the crest of a helmet, is very becoming, as it harmonizes exceedingly well with their tall and well-proportioned figures. It is therefore not without reason that the Bagírmi females are celebrated over

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a great part of Negroland. Their dress is very simple, similar to that of the Bórnu, namely, the black "túrkedí," which is fastened across the breast, while the wealthier among them usually throw a second one over the shoulder.

The women in general seemed to be very healthy; but the men suffer much from a peculiar sickness which they themselves call "mukárdam," while the Arabs call it by the same name as the "Guinea-worm," namely, "ferentít," or "'arúk," although it seems to be a very different thing; it is a sort of worm which dwells in the little toe, and eats it gradually away, beginning at the joint, so that the limb has the appearance of being tied up with a thread. I think this insect is identical with the *Malis Americana* or *Sauvagesii*, or, as it is more generally called, *pulex penetrans*, a very small black insect well known in America. This disease is so general hereabouts, that amongst ten people you will find at least one who has only four toes.

At times the village was enlivened by some little intercourse,—now a caravan of pilgrims, then a troop of native merchants, tugúrchi or fatáki. The pilgrims were some of them on their home-journey, with the impressions which they had received of things scarcely intelligible to themselves, others going eastward with the narrow prejudices which they had brought from their distant homes. There were people from every region of Negroland; but unfortunately I had scarcely anything to offer them besides needles, with which

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article I gladly assisted them on their arduous journey, for nothing is of so much importance to the traveller as to gain the goodwill of these people, who are the bearers of public opinion in these regions. Thus my liberality of making presents of needles, and nothing but needles, procured me the title among these witty people, of the Needle-Prince, "maláríbra;" and although it was useful, in order to convince them of my friendly disposition, it was scarcely sufficient to open an intimate intercourse with them. But there was one amongst these distant wanderers, a native of Kébbi, a very intelligent man, from whom I derived my first information about the populousness of that fine and beautiful country which I was soon to visit myself.

A numerous troop of pilgrims from Wándalá or Mándará also created a considerable interest; and I entered with them into lively polemics concerning the relation of their prince, or "tuksé-malé," with the ruler of Bórnu, for they denied positively that their chief had tendered his subjection in order to avert from his own country that numerous host which we had accompanied a few months previously to the Músgu country. The poorer members of the caravan went round about the hamlets beating their drums, in order to collect alms to supply their wants during their meritorious journey, while the wealthier among them came to my host in order to buy from him their supply of native corn.

The commercial intercourse also which took place

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in the little village where I was obliged to make so long a stay, exhibited some more interesting features, notwithstanding the dulness of the market; for among the merchants there appeared occasionally a small troop of Háusa people — dangarúnfa, slender active fellows, accustomed to fatigue, and content with little profit, who were carrying on their heads, all the way from Kanó to Bagírmi, small parcels of indigo-dyed shirts, and other commodities, in order to barter them for the fine asses of Dár-Fúr, which are brought hither by the travellers from the east.

Not less interesting was the arrival of a portion of a numerous caravan of Jellába, from Nimró in Wáday, who had come to Más-eñá; it consisted of about a dozen people, with about twenty pack-oxen and asses. As for the principal part of the caravan, the chief commodity imported by them was copper, which they were bringing from the great copper-mine, or el hofra, situated to the south of Dár-Fúr, carrying it as far as Kanó towards the west, where this fine eastern copper rivals the old copper which is brought by the Arab caravans from Tripoli. But these people who had arrived in Bákadá were the poorer members of the troop; and their wealth and exclusive article of commerce was a very excellent quality of rock salt, which the Tebu-Gurâán bring from the Burrum or Bahr el Ghazál to Wára, where it is bought in great quantities by the Jellába, who sell it in small parcels, carrying it as far as Logón and Kúsuri. I bought a little for a sheet of paper, and found it excellent, with the exception of its having decidedly a fishy taste.

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It was but very rarely that I mounted my horse, as I purposely avoided everything which was likely to attract attention, or create envious and jealous feelings; but on the 10th of the month, I was obliged by circumstances to take a long ride, as my she-camel, which at the time was my only beast of burden, was missing, and not a trace of her could be found. On the south-east side of the village there is much forest of a very uniform character, interspersed with tall reed-grass; but on the other sides a great deal of cultivation was to be seen, shaded by hájilíj (or "jánga," as it is called here), nebek or "kírna," * and talha-trees, here called "keláya." I found it very remarkable that almost all the fields, even those where millet and sorghum were grown, were laid out in deep furrows, called derába,—a system of tillage which, in the case of any sort of grain, I had not before observed in Negroland. Besides grain, a good deal of sesamum ("kárru"), cotton ("nyére"), and indigo ("alíni") was cultivated, the plants being from two and a half to three feet in height, and bare of leaves at the present

* The name of this tree, which is so common all over this part of the world — in the forms kórna, kúrna, kúrnahí, kúrru, kírna — is one of the most widely-spread of all those names indicating objects possessing properties useful to man; and this would seem to indicate that it is not indigenous in the various regions where it is at present found, but introduced from one and the same quarter. However, on nearer inspection, this argument does not seem to be conclusive. It has certainly not been introduced into Negroland from a more northern climate, as little as the *Balanites* and the *Cucifera*, which is erroneously called *Thebaica*, instead of *Nigritia*.

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season. On the north-east side, also, there was a great deal of forest; but it was adorned by some groups of fine trees. It was enlivened by numbers of Guinea fowl and gazelles; and a great number of "kálgo" trees, with their wide-spreading branches, were observed here. The soil had been already tolerably saturated with moisture, fine tufts of succulent grass were springing up here and there, and I was enabled to water my horse at a small pool; but this abundance of the watery element, of course, was only temporary, in consequence of the heavy rain which had fallen the previous night, and the poor inhabitants were still to suffer most severely from drought, their deep well being almost dry. This was the only point in regard to which I had continual disputes with the inhabitants, who would scarcely allow my horse to get his sufficient *quantum*, although I had to pay a considerable sum for it.

Meanwhile I waxed impatient. At length, on the evening of the 6th of April, my escort Gréma (whom on the last day of March I had sent to the capital to bring me a decisive answer without delay) returned with a messenger of the lieutenant-governor, —not, however, to grant either of my requests, but rather to induce me to wait patiently till an answer should arrive from the sultan himself. In order that I might not starve in the meanwhile, they brought me a sheep and a shirt, with which I might buy provision in some neighbouring village; but as there was nothing to be got besides millet and

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sorghum, I declared it to be absolutely necessary for me either to be admitted into the capital, or to retrace my steps. I requested Gréma to stay with me; but he pretended he was obliged to return to the town, where his servant lay sick. Not suspecting that he wanted to leave me alone, and to join the sultan on the expedition, I allowed him to go, and resolved to wait a few days in patience. But, restless and impatient as I was, the delay pressed heavily upon me; and when on the 13th my kind and amiable host Bú-Bakr Sadík himself went to the capital, I had nothing to calm my disquietude. Through my host, I had once more addressed myself to the lieutenant-governor, requesting to be admitted into the capital without further delay; and Bú-Bakr had promised me, in the most distinct terms, that before Thursday night, which was the 15th, I should have a decisive answer. Having only one weak camel to carry my luggage, I had taken scarcely any books with me on this excursion to Bagírmi, and the little information which I had been able to gather was not sufficient to give my restless spirit its proper nourishment; and I felt, therefore, mentally depressed. The consequence was, that when Thursday night passed away, and neither Bú-Bakr himself arrived, nor any message from him, I determined to put my threat into execution, and to retrace my steps the following morning.

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CHAP. XLIX.

ENDEAVOUR TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. — ARRESTED. — FINAL ENTRANCE INTO MÁS-EÑÁ. — ITS CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES.

As soon as day dawned, I arose to prepare for my departure. The sky was overcast, and a little rain fell, which caused some delay; but as soon as it ceased I got my camel ready and my horse saddled. Several of the relations and friends of Bú-Bakr endeavoured to persuade me to remain; but my determination was too fixed, and, pointing at the disgraceful manner in which I had been treated in this country, I mounted my horse and rode off. My three servants, themselves dissatisfied with the treatment they had received, followed sullenly. Friday, April 16th.

We retraced the path by which we had come; but the rains had made it almost undiscernible, and we had some difficulty to make out the right track. The sun was very powerful after the rain which had fallen during the night, as is very often the case in tropical climates; and it not being my design to abscond secretly, I decided upon halting, during the hot hours, in Mókorí, and quietly pitched my tent — for I firmly expected that, if my presence was required, it was here they would seek for me. After the bad

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fare which I had received in Bákadá for so long a time, I was delighted to be able to procure here a fowl, some butter, and a little milk; and it was a sort of holiday for me to indulge in these simple luxuries. The manner in which I obtained these supplies was rather circuitous, a long bartering taking place with beads, needles, and a little natron which I was provided with from Kúkawa. The price of the fowl was three darning-needles; and I may here state the obligation under which I am to Mr. Charles Beke, the Abyssinian traveller, upon whose advice I had provided myself in London with a small assortment of these articles. In Middle Sudán their value was not appreciated; but here, in Bagírmi, I found them extremely useful, and it was to them that I partly owed my subsistence in this country.

I quietly conversed with the people on my situation; and they behaved very friendly towards me, and advised me, if no news should arrive from the capital in the course of the day, to take the road by Kólle-Kólle, Márga, and Jógodé, a place which they represented as of considerable size, and thus to reach the river near the village of Klésem, from whence I might cross over to Kúsuri. I even obtained here some valuable information with regard to the river-system of Wáday, from a Felláta*, or Púllo, of the name of 'Abd el Káder. I should have passed

* I will here remark that I think this form, Felláta, which is usual in Bórnu and the neighbouring countries, is in its origin a plural, though it is continually employed also for the singular.

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the day very comfortably, if a strong gale had not arisen about noon, and filled my tent with dust and sand. The sky was overcast; but there was no rain.

A little after sunset, when the busy scene at the well had subsided, I measured the temperature of the water, and found it to be 86°·4 Fahr., which, if we consider it as nearly the mean temperature of the country, would give a very high standard for Bagírmi. The well was fifteen fathoms deep, the present temperature of the air being then 86°; at one o'clock P. M. it had been 99°·7.

Having passed rather an unpleasant night, the ground swarming with black ants (*termes mordax*), so that my camel, as well as my horse, moved restlessly about and disturbed our own slumber frequently, I set out early in the morning with confidence on my journey westward. Forest and cultivated ground alternately succeeded each other, the cultivation consisting, besides millet, of cotton and sesamum. Women were collecting the leaves of the hájilíj, from which, in the absence of the more esteemed leaves of the monkey-bread tree, to prepare the tasteless sauce used for their daily pudding. The hájilíj was the most predominant tree; besides it there was the tree called homaín by the Shúwa, which was at present leafless, but was covered with fruit about the size of an apricot, which, when ripe, is eaten by the natives. The tsáda also, with April 17th.

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its cherry-like fruit, called by the Shúwa people a'búdéje, was frequent.

My young Shúwa companion here called my attention to the honey-bird (*cuculus indicator*), called by his countrymen "shnéter," and said to be a metamorphosed old woman searching after her young son, and calling him by name, "Shnéter, Shnéter!" All over Africa this little bird has given rise to a variety of the most curious tales, from the Hottentot country to the Somaul, and from the Somaul to the Jolóf.

Having gone about five miles, we wanted to obtain a supply of water from a small hamlet of the name of Bagáwu, which we saw on one side of our track; but as soon as we approached the well, a decrepit old man rushed furiously out of his hut, as if we were about to steal his most valuable property, and ordered us away with the most threatening attitude. Such is the value of water in this dry region! We therefore continued our march, and could only account for the existence of this miserable village, by the extensive tract of cultivated ground which was spread about.

We then entered a thick forest or jungle, with tall reeds, and showing numerous footprints of the giraffe, an animal not at all frequent in the populous districts of Negroland. Further on, the path exhibited various signs of being a common thoroughfare for elephants. This animal further westward had not made itself remarkable, while its inveterate

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enemy the rhinoceros had already, close to the river, given sufficient proof of its presence.

At half-past eight o'clock in the morning we approached another village, of the name of Kólle-Kólle, which from a distance exhibited a most noble appearance, adorned as it was by two stately delèb-palms, here called káwe, and a group of most beautiful tamarind-trees; but as for water, this village was not much better provided than that from which we had just been driven, being dependent for this necessary element upon a sister village at little less than a mile distance. Nevertheless, the dry tract which lay before me obliged me to make a halt here, in order to procure a supply of water.

While we were quietly reclining in the shade of the tamarind-trees, a party of people arrived from a village which we had passed on our road, in order to obtain some medicines; and the way in which they acknowledged my trouble was so delicate and becoming, that I could not decline it, though in general I did not accept any remuneration for my cures. On taking leave they tied a fat sheep, which they had brought with them, to the branches of the tree under which we were reclining, merely informing my servants that it was a present for me.

Notwithstanding the great heat during the mid-day hours, I thought it prudent to pursue my journey without long delay; for all my informants agreed in representing the tract before us as an extensive wilderness, entirely destitute of water. There

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were, however, evident traces that during the rainy season this dry forest is occasionally changed into an extensive swamp, and frequented by herds of giraffes and other wild beasts. At first the forest was clear; but as we proceeded it became enlivened and interwoven by a profusion of creeping plants called "sellà" by the Arab inhabitants of this country, but "gheláf" in the dialect of the western Arabs. In many spots a peculiar kind of reed was seen, called "hál" by the Shúwa, who make from it writing-pens; and here and there fresh tufts of grass, called forth by the productive power of the rains, were springing up. It is this young succulent herbage which especially attracts the rhinoceros. Desolate as this wilderness was at present, there were evident signs that at times it becomes the scene of a considerable degree of human industry; and besides sesamum, even fields of indigo were seen.

After a march of about thirteen miles, we reached a hamlet which was evidently identical with the village Márga, with regard to which our informants had not been sure whether we should find inhabitants there or not. We entered it; but not a single human being was to be seen, it was lifeless, deserted, and half in ruins. Nevertheless there were some houses which evidently contained property, though, the doors not being sufficiently secured, its safety was left to the honesty of the passers-by.

Here the path divided, and it was apparent that, in order to prosecute my journey by way of Jógodé, we

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must pursue the northern one; but unluckily, while no recent traces were to be seen along this path, the southerly track seemed to be well-trodden, and my poor servants, who before had silently though sullenly followed me, broke out into the most mournful lamentations when they saw that I wanted to take the path which showed no signs of intercourse, saying that I was going to destroy their lives as well as my own in this desolate wilderness. At length, after having in vain remonstrated with them, telling them that they were frustrating my projects, I allowed myself to be overruled by their piteous supplications, although with a sad foreboding, and pursued the southerly track.

The sun was just setting when we reached another hamlet, consisting of large decent-looking huts, and filling us with almost confident hope that we might there find comfortable quarters; but we soon convinced ourselves that here also not a human being was left behind. Only a group of five antelopes (*oryx*), called here "tétel," with their erect horns, were fearlessly standing at a little distance, and staring at us. It was the first time I had seen this handsome animal in a wild state, though I afterwards found it to be very frequent in this country, and even fell in with it along the komádugu of Bórnu.

Having convinced ourselves that the well was dry, and not thinking quarters in a desolate village very safe in such a country, we pursued our march, entering again a dense forest where a great deal of

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rain seemed to have fallen, so that I was even enabled to water the horse, although the danger from wild beasts could not but be greatly increased by the presence of the aqueous element. After a march of two miles more, the evening being very dark, we thought it more prudent to halt for the night; we therefore chose a small place free from wood, put our luggage, camel, horse, and sheep in the middle, and assigned to each of ourselves one of the corners, where we were to keep up a fire. We had, however, scarcely begun to look around the neighbourhood for dry firewood, when the tumultuous cries of wild beasts broke forth from different quarters of the dense forest; and I was obliged to fire some shots before we were able to light a moderate fire, when, throwing the firebrands before us as we proceeded, we were enabled to collect a tolerable quantity of dry wood. However, it was with some difficulty that I prevailed upon my young and inexperienced companions to make up their minds to keep alternate watches during the night, and keep up the fires, more especially as, on account of a north-east wind which sprung up about midnight, the wood was rapidly consumed.

I had prudently provided myself with a number of cartridges, when I was suddenly startled by the rushing in of two hyænas, which seemed to have silently approached under cover of the wood, and almost succeeded in carrying off our sheep. But one of them paid with its life for its audacity; and now throwing firebrands, then firing a shot, we succeeded

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in keeping the wild beasts at a respectful distance during the remainder of our restless halt here.

Early in the morning we arose in order to pursue our march, when, on removing our luggage, we found five scorpions under our leather bags; they had, most probably, been attracted by the heat of our fires, as in general this animal is not so frequent after the ground has been wetted by the rains. As we proceeded, the forest became clearer, and my Shúwa lad called my attention to the curious circumstance that the "díb," which is very frequent in these regions, always deposits its excrements on the clean white spot of an ant-hill. The rain appeared to have been very considerable; and about a mile further on we passed a good sized pond, and a little further another of still larger size, producing all around a profusion of grass of the richest verdure. The soil here consisted of hard clay, and the vegetation was varied; but gradually the forest was succeeded by extensive cultivation, which announced our approach to a considerable place.

I had been well aware myself that we had left the road to Jógodé a long distance on our right; but I was greatly annoyed when I heard from the people who met us on the path that this village was Kókoroché, the very place which we had passed on our road from Mélé to Búgomán. Convinced, therefore, that I should be obliged to touch once more at the former village, I had a sad foreboding that I should meet with some unpleasant occurrence, and that it might

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not be my destiny to leave this country as yet. However, I made up my mind, and prepared myself for whatever might happen.

The country assumed a more genial aspect; and we reached a very extensive sheet of water, apparently of considerable depth, and adorned all around by fine spreading trees. Numbers of women were proceeding from the neighbouring village to fetch water. Having provided ourselves with a supply, we proceeded onwards, and halted in the shade of a fine "hájilíj," in sight of the village. Numbers of cattle and asses were seen all around, and testified to the prosperity of the inhabitants. Kókoroché is an important place in the economy of this country; for it is this place, together with Búgomán, which furnishes the capital with the greatest supply of millet.

Determined to put a bold face upon matters, I ordered my people to slaughter the sheep, and made myself as comfortable as possible, spreading my carpet, damaged as it was by the ants in Bákadá, upon the ground, and assuming the appearance of being quite at my ease. At that time I was not aware that in this country none but the sultan and a few high dignitaries were allowed to sit on a carpet. While the meat was cooking on the fire, and holding out the promise of some unwonted luxury, I received a visit from the father-in-law of Gréma 'Abdú, my host in Mústafají; and his appearance and hints confirmed my unfavourable anticipations. I related to him what had happened to me since I left him,— that the

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governor of Búgomán had refused to receive me into his town, and that I had remained eighteen days in Bákadá, waiting in vain for an order to be allowed to enter the capital. I showed him my carpet, and told him how it had been half devoured by the ants, and how we had suffered from want of sufficient food and shelter in the beginning of the rainy season. He was very sorry that I had not been treated with more regard; but he expressed his opinion that the lieutenant-governor would not allow me to leave the country in such a way.

Unfortunately this man was not open enough to confess to me that messengers from the capital had already arrived; neither did the bíllama, or rather "gollennánge" or "gar," as he is here called—the head man of the village, who arrived with a numerous host of people just as I was about to start—give me any hint about it. Whether he came with the intention of keeping me back, and was afraid of executing his design, I do not know. In any case it would have been far more agreeable to me, if my fate had been decided here instead of at Mélé. As it was, he sent one of his people with me to show me the track to the river; and I started about an hour after noon.

Considerable showers, which had fallen here seven days previously, had changed the dry character of the country, and revived its luxuriant nature. The whole district presented the cheerful aspect of spring. Fresh meadow-lands spread out; and we passed some extensive sheets of water, bordered by undulating banks

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in the freshest verdure. We passed several villages, among which one called Mái-Dalá, was distinguished by its neat appearance, most of the huts having been recently thatched, to protect them against the rains. In the forest which intervened, dúm-bushes and dúm-palms, here called "kolóngo," attracted my attention, on account of the wide range this plant occupies in Central Africa, while it was erroneously believed to belong exclusively to Upper Egypt. Having passed the shallow water of Ambusáda, where numbers of the blue-feathered bird here called "dellúk," with red feet, were splashing about, we again approached the inauspicious village where I had first set my foot in this country.

Here also, during the short time I had been absent, a great change had taken place. The ground was being cleared, in order to prepare it for the labours of the rainy season; and the bushes and trunks of trees were burnt, in order to render the soil more productive by means of the fertilizing power of the ashes. We had not before passed so closely to the river; and I was astonished at the immense size of the ant-hills, which were not of the ordinary kind, such as they are seen in general, rising in steep conical peaks, but rather like those which I had seen near the Bénuwé — but of larger proportions and rising to an elevation of from 30 to 40 feet, and sloping very gradually, so that their circumference at the base in some cases measured more than 200 feet. The village itself had meanwhile changed its character, owing to the number of new huts

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which had been erected on account of the approach of the rainy season, and the old ones having received a new thatching. All these new structures consisted of reed and matting; but nevertheless it had a neat and cheerful appearance. As I entered the village, I was saluted by the inhabitants as an old acquaintance, and pitched my tent quietly on the former spot.

This was a memorable day to me, destined to teach me a larger share of stubborn endurance. Having passed a quiet night, I began early to speak to the head man of the village about crossing the river, making him at the same time a small present. In Bagírmi also, as well as in Logón and other parts of Negroland, there is a separate officer for the river-communication. This officer, who in Bagírmi bears the title of alífa-bá ("kemán-komádugubé" or "officer of the river"), has an agent or kashélla in every village on the banks of the river where there is a ferry; and this agent was absent at the time. Meanwhile I was conversing with several of my former friends, and, among others, met an inhabitant of Jógodé, who regretted extremely that I had missed my road to that place, as I should have been well treated there, and forwarded on my journey without obstacle, almost all of the inhabitants being Kanúri. The governor of that place, who, like that of Moító, bears the title of "alífa," had left, as this man informed me, in order to join the sultan on the expedition. April 19th.

While I was thus conversing, the head man of the village suddenly came to my tent, and informed me

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that messengers had arrived from the lieutenant-governor, in order to prevent my proceeding; and upon his asking me what I intended to do, I told him that I would divide the time which I should be obliged to wait between this place, Jógodé, and Klésem, but that, if I should be compelled to wait too long, I should feel rather inclined to return to Logón. They rejected my proposal, and requested that I should stay in Mélé, saying that the inhabitants of the village had promised to supply me with rice and fish, and that I ought not to stir from here. While I was quietly expostulating with him upon this treatment, telling him that this was almost impossible, the place being too badly provided, and that they might at least allow me to remain half the time in the neighbouring village of Klésem, gradually more and more people entered my tent, and, suddenly seizing me, put my feet in irons.

Perhaps the unexpectedness of such an occurrence was rather fortunate; for if I had in the least divined their purpose, I might have made use of my arms. But taken by surprise and overpowered as I was, I resigned myself in patience, and did not speak a word. The people not only carried away my arms, but also all my luggage; and, what grieved me most, they even seized my chronometer, compass, and journal. Having then taken down my tent, they carried me to an open shed, where I was guarded by two servants of the lieutenant-governor.

After all this trying treatment, I had still to hear a

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moral lecture given me by one of these half pagans, who exhorted me to bear my fate with patience, for all came from God.

Even my servants at first were put in irons; but when they protested that if they were not set at liberty I should have nobody to serve me, their fetters were taken off, and they came faithfully to me to soothe my misfortune. In the evening the slave of the alífa-bá mounted my horse, and, taking one of my pistols with him, rode off to Más-eñá.

Having remained silently in the place assigned to me till the evening, I ordered my servants to demand my tent back, and to pitch it in the old place; and to my great satisfaction my request was granted. Thus I passed the four following days quietly in my tent, and, although fettered like a slave, resigned to my fate. Fortunately I had Mungo Park's first journey with me; and I could never have enjoyed the account of his sufferings among the Ludamar (Welád-Ammer) better than I did in such a situation, and did not fail to derive from his example a great share of patience.

It was in this situation that, while reflecting on the possibility of Europeans civilizing these countries, I came to the conclusion that it would be absolutely necessary, in order to obtain the desired end, to colonize the most favourable tract of the country inclosed by the Kwára, the Bénuwé, and the river Kadúna, and thus to spread commerce and civilization in all directions into the very heart of the continent. Thus I wrote in my journal: "This is the

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only means to answer the desired end; everything else is vain."

April 23rd. While lying in my tent in the course of the evening, my friend from Bákadá, Háj Bú-Bakr Sadík, arrived on my horse, and, being seized with indignation at the sight of my fetters, ordered them to be taken off without delay. I begged him to forgive me for having regarded myself as a free man, and not as a slave, not being aware of the real nature of my situation in this country. He, however, praised my conduct very highly, saying that I could not have acted otherwise than I did, and promising that I should now enter the capital without further delay of any kind.

Remaining cool and quiet under the favourable change of my circumstances, I thanked Providence for having freed me from this unpleasant situation, regarding it in the light of a useful lesson for future occasions. All my property was restored to me, even my arms, with the exception of the pistol which had been taken to the capital. However, the following day I had still to resign myself to patience, the chief servant of the lieutenant-governor not having yet arrived, and my horse, which had made the journey to the capital and back with great speed, wanting a little rest.

Sunday, April 25th. Early in the morning we entered upon our march once more, in an easterly direction; and although I had not yet experienced very kind treatment in this country, I was prepared

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to endure everything rather than to forego seeing the capital; but my poor servants were very differently disposed, for, having no mental interest, they felt the material privations more heavily. While they viewed with horror our projected journey eastward, they cast a melancholy look on the opposite bank of the river, which promised them freedom from privation as well as from vexation.

It was now for the fourth time that I was passing along the banks of the stream. It was at present at its very lowest ("bá nedónge," as the Bagírmi people say), having sunk a foot or two since I first saw it, and having laid bare a much larger part of the sand-bank. People in Europe have no idea of the situation of a solitary traveller in these regions. If I had been able to proceed according to my wishes, my road, from the very first moment when I entered the country, would have lain straight along the course of this mighty river towards its sources; but a traveller in these countries is no better than a slave, dependent upon the caprice of people without intelligence and full of suspicion. All that I could expect to be able still to accomplish, under present circumstances, was to obtain distinct information concerning the upper course of the river; for, ardent as had been my desire to join the sultan on his expedition, from all that I had seen I could scarcely expect that the people would allow me to go to any distance.

Our march the first day was rather short, for, having rested almost six hours, during the heat of the

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day, in a village called "Káda-bákaláy," we went only three miles further, when we encamped in another village called "Káda-márga," recently built, where the inhabitants of the deserted village of the same name, which on our return-journey from the capital we passed in the forest, had taken refuge. The village had a neat appearance, there being even a dyeing-place or "búkko alínbe;" it was also enlivened by several tame ostriches. The well, with a depth of from ten to twelve fathoms, contained a rich supply of water, but of bad quality.

The next day we made up for our loss of time, and only stopped for the night, about a couple of miles beyond Bákadá; for, notwithstanding my esteem for Bú-Bakr Sadík, I refused to make any stay in, or even to enter the place where I had been kept back so long a time. The wooded wilderness had become prepared by the rains to receive its temporary inhabitants the Shúwa; and the well of Bákadá, for the use of which I had been obliged to pay so many needles, was left to decay.

Tuesday, April 27th. We set out early in the morning, in order to reach at length the final object of our journey before the heat of the day. The country was well cultivated; and the fields of native corn were here also laid out in ridges, or "derába." Trees were scattered in all directions, principally talha and hájilíj. The soil consisted of sand, but was succeeded further on by clay, forming several large basins, where, later in the rainy season, extensive

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ponds are formed. Here the country was enlivened by fine tamarind-trees, besides a few specimens of the dúm-palm. We then entered a district rich in herbage, and well adapted for cattle-breeding. Shúwa and Felláta foreigners were living here (as they generally do) together on friendly terms, as the similarity of the manners of these two distinct tribes, notwithstanding their different origin and totally distinct language, has brought them everywhere into the closest connection, and has facilitated in a remarkable manner the spreading of the latter race over so large an extent of Central Africa. The huts of these cattle-breeders are very different from those of the native settlers, being far more spacious, in order to admit the cattle, and having the roofs thatched in a very light and negligent manner, as they usually change their dwelling-places with the season, and therefore do not choose to bestow much labour upon them.

As we were proceeding onwards we suddenly obtained a view over a green open depresssion clad with the finest verdure, and interspersed with the ruins of clay houses. This, then, was Más-eñá, the capital. It presented the same ruined appearance as the rest of the country.

The town was formerly much larger; and the wall had been carried back, but it was still far too large for the town, and in the utmost state of decay. Ruined by a most disastrous civil war, and trodden down by its neighbours, the country of Bagírmi seems

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to linger till it is destined either to rise again, or to fall a prey to the first invader.

However, I was not allowed to enter the holy precinct of this ruined capital without further annoyance; for, being obliged to send a message to the lieutenant-governor, announcing my arrival, I was made to wait more than an hour and a half outside the gate, although there was not the least shade. I was then allowed to make my humble entrance. Only a few human beings were to be seen; and open pasture-grounds extended to a considerable distance, principally on the right side towards the south. We then entered the inhabited quarter; and I was lodged in a clay house standing in an open courtyard, which was likewise fenced by a low clay wall. The house contained an airy front room well suited to my taste, and four small chambers at the back, which were certainly not very airy, but were useful for stowing away luggage and provisions.

I had scarcely taken possession of my quarters, when numbers of people came to salute me on the part of the lieutenant-governor; and a short time afterwards a confidential slave of his made his appearance, to whom I delivered my presents, consisting of a piece of printed Manchester cotton sufficient for a tobe, an Egyptian shawl, several kinds of odoriferous essences, such as "makhbíl," the fruit of a species of *tilia*, "lubán" or benzoin, and a considerable quantity of sandal-wood, which is greatly esteemed in the countries of Negroland east of Bórnu. While deliver-

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ing these presents, and presenting my humble compliments, I declared myself unable to pay my respects personally to the lieutenant-governor, unless he restored my pistol, which was all that was wanting of the things which had been taken from me at Mélé; and after some negotiation, it was agreed upon that he should deliver to me the pistol as soon as I presented myself, without my even saying a word about it.

I therefore went in the afternoon with Bú-Bakr to see him, and found a rather affable man, a little beyond middle age, simply dressed in a dark-blue tobe, which had lost a good deal of its former lustre. Having saluted him, I explained to him how improper treatment and want of sufficient food had induced me to retrace my steps, after having convinced myself that I was not welcome in the country; for I assured him that it was our utmost desire to be friends with all the princes of the earth, and to make them acquainted with us, and that, although I had known that the ruler of the country himself was absent, I had not hesitated in paying them a visit, as I had been given to understand that it would be possible to join him in the expedition. He excused his countrymen on the ground that they, not being acquainted with our character, had treated me as they would have done a person belonging to their own tribe who had transgressed the rules of the country. He then restored me my pistol before all the people, and desired me to await patiently the arrival of the sultan.

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The ruler of the country, together with the principal men, being absent, the place presented at that time a more quiet or rather dull appearance than it does in general; and when I took my first walk through the town, I was struck with the aspect of solitude which presented itself to the eye on all sides. Fortunately there was one man in the town whose society and conversation were a relief to my mind.

I was reclining in the afternoon upon my simple couch, occupied in reading, when I received a visit from three persons. One of them was a man of apparently Negro origin, showing, by his wrinkled countenance, a career of trouble and misfortune, but having otherwise nothing very remarkable about him. It was Háj A'hmed, of Bámbara origin, and formerly an inhabitant of Tawát, but who after a number of vicissitudes, having first been employed in the gold diggings of Bambúk, and afterwards been engaged on small trading expeditions from Tawát to Timbúktu (where he had been twice robbed by the Tawárek), and from the same place to A'gades and Kanó, had at last settled at Medína. From thence he had accompanied the warlike expedition of I'brahím Bashá, had fought in the battles of 'Akká and Deraije, and had been sent on several journeys as far as Basra and Baghdád, and at present being employed as servant at the great Mosque, had been dispatched to this country in order to obtain from its sultan a present of eunuchs for the temple of Medína. The second was a venerable-looking man, with a

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fine countenance, and a bushy half-silvery beard. This man was the religious chief of Bídderí, a place of which I shall speak hereafter.

The third visitor was Fáki Sámbo, a very tall and slender Púllo, with a scanty beard, and an expressive countenance, except that it lacked the most important feature which enlivens the human face, he being totally blind. At that time, however, I did not know him, although, when I heard him convey a considerable degree of knowledge in a lively and impressive manner, I almost suspected he might be the man of whom I had heard so much. I was puzzled, however, at his first question, which was, whether the Christians did not belong to the Benî I'srâyîl; that is to say, to the Jews.

This was the first conversation I had with this man, who alone contributed to make my stay in the place endurable. I could scarcely have expected to find in this out-of-the-way place a man not only versed in all the branches of Arabic literature, but who had even read (nay, possessed a manuscript of) those portions of Aristotle and Plato which had been translated into, or rather Mohammedanized in Arabic, and who possessed the most intimate knowledge of the countries which he had visited. His forefathers, belonging to that tribe of the Fúlbe which is called Fittobe, had emigrated into the southern parts of Wádáy, where they settled in the village of Bárek-alla. When he was a young man, his father, who himself possessed a good deal of learning, and who

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had written a work on Háusa, had sent him to Egypt, where he had studied many years in the mosque of El A'zhar. It had then been his intention to go to the town of Zebíd in Yemen, which is famous amongst the Arabs on account of the science of logarithms, or el hesáb; but when he had reached Gunfúda, the war which was raging between the Turks and the Wahábíye had thwarted his projects, and he had returned to Dár Fúr, where he had settled down some time, and had accompanied a memorable expedition to the south-west as far as the borders of a large river, of which I shall have another occasion to speak. Having then returned to Wáday, he had played a considerable part as courtier in that country, especially during the reign of 'Abd el 'Azíz, till the present king, Mohammed e' Sherif, on account of his intimate relation with the prince just mentioned, had driven him from his court and banished him from the country.

After having once made the acquaintance of this man, I used to visit him daily; and he was always delighted to see, or rather to hear me, for he had nobody with whom he could talk about the splendour and achievements of the Khalifat, from Baghdád to A'ndalos (Spain)—particularly of the latter country, with the history of whose towns, kings, and literary men he was intimately acquainted. He listened with delight when I once mentioned the astrolabe or sextant; and he informed me with pride that his father had been in possession of such an instrument, but

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that for the last twenty years he had not met a single person who knew what sort of thing an astrolabe was.

He was a very enlightened man, and in his inmost soul a Wahábi; and he gave me the same name, on account of my principles. I shall never forget the hours I passed in cheerful and instructive conversation with this man; for the more unexpected the gratification was, the greater, naturally, was the impression which it made upon me. Unluckily he died about a year after I left the country. In general it was I who called upon him, when he used to treat me with a very good cold rice pudding, and with dates from Kánem, which were rather of an inferior description; but when he came to me, I used to regale him with a cup of coffee, which was a great treat to him, carrying him back to more civilized regions, and he never omitted to press the cup to each of his temples. The only drawback to my intercourse with this man was, that he was as anxious to obtain information from me with regard to the countries of the Christians, and those parts of the world with which he was less acquainted, as I was to be instructed by him; besides that, he had a great deal of business, being occupied with the Sheríyà or Mohammedan law. He had a singular predilection for emetics; and he begged me so urgently to favour him with this treat, that in the course of a few weeks I gave him more than half a dozen for himself, besides those I was obliged to supply to his family. He suffered from bilious affec-

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tions, and thought that emetics were the best remedies in the world.

Besides this man and Háj A'hmed, the man with whom I had most frequent intercourse during my stay in this country was Slímán, a travelling Arab sheríf, as he called himself, but in reality a Felláh, a native of Egypt, at present settled in Mekka, who had roved about a great deal, was very polite in his manners, and, although not a very learned man, possessed a certain degree of general information, especially with regard to the countries of Wáday and Dár Fúr (where he had made a longer stay), and, having been assisted on his journey to Constantinople by Mr. Brand, Her Majesty's consul at Smyrna, had a certain degree of attachment to Europeans.

But the greatest amount of information which I obtained, principally with regard to the country of Wáday, proceeded from a young native of that country of the name of I'brahím (the fáki I'brahím), of the tribe of the A'bú-Shárib, with whom I passed several hours every day very pleasantly and usefully, and who attached himself so much to my person that I would freely have taken him with me to Sókoto, where he wanted to go in order to improve his learning under the tuition of the Fúlbe.

My relations with the lieutenant-governor were rather cool; and after he had given me a first treat, he left me for some days without any sign of hospitality, except that he once sent me a quantity of the fruit of the bíto tree or hájilíj, which I returned. He was a

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man without much intelligence, and had no idea of the scientific researches of a European.

Having but little exercise, I became very ill towards the end of this month, so that I thought it prudent to abstain entirely from food for five days, living exclusively upon an infusion of the fruit of the tamarind-tree and onions seasoned with some honey and a strong dose of black pepper,—a sort of drink which must appear abominable to the European, but which is a delightful treat to the feverish traveller in those hot regions. Convinced that my stay in this place, if I were not allowed to travel about, would be too trying for my constitution, I requested the lieutenant-governor to allow me to retrace my steps westward; but he would not consent, upon any condition whatever, that I should stir from the place.

This unfavourable disposition towards me assumed by degrees a more serious character, as, being unable to understand my pursuits, he could not but become suspicious of what I was doing. On the 21st of June when I was quietly sitting in my house, one of his servants, Agíd Músa, who was well disposed towards me, and who used to call occasionally, suddenly made his appearance with a very serious countenance, and after some hesitation, and a few introductory remarks, delivered a message from the governor to the following effect. He wanted to know from me whether it was true (as was rumoured in the town, and as the people had told him) that, as soon as a thunderstorm was gathering, and when the clouds

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appeared in the sky, I went out of my house and made the clouds withdraw; for they had assured him that they had repeatedly noticed that, as soon as I looked at the clouds with a certain air of command, they passed by without bringing a single drop of rain.

However serious the countenance of the messenger was, the purport of his message was so absurdly ridiculous that I could not help breaking out into a loud laugh, highly amused at the really pagan character of these *soi-disant* Mohammedans; but my friend begged me to regard the matter in a more serious light, and to take care what sort of answer I sent to his master. I then begged him to tell the governor that no man either by charm or by prayer was able either to prevent or to cause rain, but that God sent rain wherever and whenever it pleased him. I added, however, that if he believed my presence in the country was causing mischief, he might allow me to go, that I did not desire anything better than that, and should then pray night and day for rain, but that at present I myself could not wish for much rain, as I was afraid lest it should cut off my retreat, by swelling the river to too great a height.

The messenger departed with my answer, and returned after a while with the *ultimatum* of the governor, to the effect that it was his own opinion that no human being was able to prevent rain, but that all of us were servants of the Almighty, and that as they were praying for rain, I myself should add my prayer to theirs; I should then be allowed, at the proper time,

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to depart from them in safety, but that if I was ill-disposed towards them he likewise would do me evil, informing me at the same time that, for a similar reason, they had once killed two great religious chiefs from Bídderí.

Such was the character of the people with whom I had to deal, although they regarded themselves as enlightened Mohammedans. In order to show his good disposition, or most probably rather in order to see whether his good treatment of me would have any effect upon the amount of rain (as he seemed to take me for a "king of the high regions"), he sent me in the evening a dish of an excellent pudding, with plenty of butter, and a small pot of medíde, or gruel seasoned with the fruit of the dúm-palm, and even promised me corn for my horse; but as I did not send him rain in return, as he seemed to have expected, his hospitality did not extend further.

It had been my custom, when a thunderstorm was gathering, to look out, in order to see from what quarter it was proceeding, which is a question of great interest in these regions; but the absurd superstition of these people so alarmed me, that I scarcely dared to do so again. With regard to the superstition of the natives I must here mention a case which happened to my friend Sámbo. One day while I was engaged in earnest talk with him respecting the many sects of Islám, our conversation was suddenly interrupted by one of the daughters of the sultan entering abruptly, and accusing my friend, in the

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most offensive terms, of having abstracted from her, by his witchcraft, one of her slaves. But it was rather astonishing that a man with so vast an amount of learning was allowed to live at all, in the midst of such barbarians as these, without being continually suspected of sorcery and witchcraft. I shall not forget the day when I went to call on my friend, and found the unfortunate blind old man, sitting in his courtyard, in the midst of a heap of manuscripts which he could then only enjoy by touching them with his hands. Involuntarily I was reminded of a saying of Jackson's, that the time would come when the texts of the classics would be emendated from manuscripts brought from the interior of Negroland.* From the very beginning, when I became aware of the character of these people, I had taken the greatest precautions; and hearing that the privilege of using a carpet was restricted to certain officers, I had stowed my old carpet away, although my couch, being on the bare ground, was not very soft.

The market, or "kaskú,"† occupied a greal deal of my time and of my thoughts during my monotonous stay in this place, not so much on account of its importance as of my own poverty, as I was compelled to become a retail dealer on the smallest scale; for,

* Jackson's Account of Morocco, p. 100.

† We have here an evident proof that a certain degree of civilization spread from Bórnu over the countries to the east. Kaskú is a slight variation of the Kanúri word "kásukú."

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hardly possessing anything except a small quantity of needles, I was obliged to send one of my servants daily to the market, in order to endeavour, by means of that very trifling article of European industry, to obtain the currency of the country. The currency of Bagírmi consists in strips of cotton, or fárda, like those which I have described on my journey to A'damáwa — of very irregular measures, longer or shorter, in general of two "drà" length, and a hand in width — but of very different quality. Larger articles are bought and sold with shirts, "khalag (*pl.* kholgán"), as they are called by the Arabs, "bol," as they are called by the natives, the value of which, according to their size and quality, varies from 70 to 150 fárda. I obtained a fárda for one large English darning-needle, or for four common German needles; but afterwards I doubled the price. Besides these I had very little left, with the exception of a few looking-glasses of that round kind which are sold in Lyons for one *sou* each, and which I sold here for the high price of one shirt or "khalag," while a better sort of looking-glass, bought in London for eightpence, brought four khalag or kholgán, which are worth about a dollar. As for shells, called here "kemé-kemé," they have no currency in the market, but form a merchandise by themselves, as an article of export into the pagan countries—at least those of larger size, which are in great request with the inhabitants of those countries as well as with the Welád Ráshid, it being said that 2,000 will fetch a young slave of the kind called

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"khomási," and 3,000 a "sedási;" for those simple people not only wear these shells as ornaments, especially the women, who are said to cover their hinder parts with them, but they make also caps of them, with which they adorn the heads of their deceased relations, while the Welád Ráshid adorn principally the heads of their camels and horses with the favourite kemé-kemé, or "kémti," as they are called in Wáday.

Formerly there had been a market held only every Thursday; but a short time previous to my arrival the people had found it advantageous to have a market every day, so that there was a daily market from eight in the morning till eleven in the forenoon, and from three in the afternoon till sunset. Of course it was not very well supplied, and was confined to the mere necessaries of life, the greatest luxury it contained consisting of onions, an article which is not to be procured in every part of Central Africa. At first they were very cheap, eight being sold for a fárda; but with the approach of the rainy season they increased in price, and I thought it prudent to lay in a supply, as I found this article extremely conducive to my health. And I would advise every traveller in these regions to be always provided with this vegetable; for they may be either used for seasoning food, or cut in slices and mixed with tamarinds, making, as I have stated, a cool and refreshing drink. But the black natives, as I have already mentioned on another occasion, do not in general make use of onions for seasoning their food, their

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cultivation having been introduced into the country by the Arabs from the north, together with wheat. But the native Arabs, or Shíwa, and the Arabs from the coast, or Wáselí, use this vegetable to a great extent, as well for seasoning their food as for medicine, especially in case of fever, small-pox, and obstruction of urine, from which latter inconvenience they suffer very much, in consequence of their marching during the heat of the day.

Besides the articles above-mentioned, the commodity most plentiful in the market was grain, especially Guinea grain or *Pennisetum typhoïdeum*, the dealers in which had a special place assigned to them in the northern part of the market, under a fine tamarind-tree, or "más,"—the oldest part of the town,—which is even said to have given origin to the name Máseñá, as I shall have occasion to describe further on. Besides beans ("mónjo"), and ground-nuts, called here "wúli" or "búli," salt too ("kása"), owing to the presence of the Jelába from Wáday, some of whom I had met on my road, was very plentiful; but it was only sold in very small portions. The same people also sold natron ("ngíllu"), which is brought by the Tebu from the border of the desert. Milk ("sí") and butter ("búgu") were dear, but sour milk ("sí chále") in abundance — it is principally brought into the town by the daughters of the Benî Hassan. Honey ("téji"), which in many countries is so plentiful, is scarcely to be got at all. There were always a few head of sheep and cattle, and sometimes a few

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fowls were to be seen; occasionally also a horse of indifferent description made its appearance. Cotton ("ñyíre") was rather scarce; and I did not see any indigo, "alíni." Red pepper ("shíta") formed a peculiar article of commerce, which was retailed in small parcels by the Bórnu traders.

The most important and almost only article of European produce ("ngásan Zaila") consisted of beads, called "múnjo," especially the small red ones, which are sold here in great quantities, and exported to the pagan countries. I also sold a few of the large species, called "nejúm," of which the Shúwa are very fond. Calico, called here "shóter," is a great rarity, and rather sold privately to the great men of the country. Kanó manufactures, called here "kálkobángri" or "ngásan degó," form a prominent feature in the statistics of this market, especially túrkedí ("bolné"), while the Kanó and Nyffi tobes, called "bol godáni," can only with difficulty compete with the native manufacture, the Bórnu people, or rather the Mákarí or Kótokó, having introduced into the country the art of dyeing. No slaves ("béli") were brought into the market, all being sold in the houses, a circumstance which seemed to indicate a certain feeling of decency; but at a later period this article was by no means wanting in the market.

Ivory is not brought into the market, but the little which is sold is disposed of in the houses; but sometimes the Arabs who visit this country do a very profitable business in this article. The price of horses

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in general is estimated by slaves; and the value of the latter is very low in this country, as may be inferred from what I have said above respecting the small sum paid for them in the countries towards the south: but slaves exported from here are not esteemed, as they are said to be more subject to disease than those from other countries, and generally die in a very short time. Female slaves certainly, natives of the country of Bagírmi, are highly esteemed; but as almost all the inhabitants of the country, at least outwardly, profess Islám, very few are at present sold into slavery, while formerly they were scattered all over the north of Africa, in consequence of the great slave-hunting expeditions of the Bashá of Fezzán. The Shúwa or Shíwa generally effect their purchases with cows.

Although my means when I undertook this journey were extremely small, nevertheless I had not thought it impossible that I might succeed in penetrating into Wádáy, or even in reaching the lands of the Nile; and I often indulged in the pleasure of counting over my small stock of goods, and conceived the idea how, by giving away everything I possessed, I might accomplish such an enterprise; but I soon found that I was compelled to give up all such plans, and although I think that a traveller with sufficient means, and a great deal of patience and endurance, might succeed in entering Wádáy from this side, I am sure that the ruler of that country would certainly keep him back for a whole year. I therefore only aspired at visiting some places in the neighbourhood; and I

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was particularly anxious to obtain a sight of that small branch of the river which, having separated from the principal trunk near the town of Miltú, approaches to within about nine miles of the capital. But the lieutenant-governor would not allow me to leave the place, neither would he suffer me to visit A'bú-Gher, which is situated at about the same distance in a N.N.W. direction, and where a considerable market is held every Saturday, although I told him that it was essential for me to go, in order to procure there my necessary supplies; and I was therefore obliged to content myself with sending my servants.

They found the market of A'bú-Gher of about the same importance as the little market or durríya in Kúkawa, with this exception, that cattle were more numerous in A'bú-Gher; and they counted about a hundred head of large beasts, and about the same number of sheep. There was a great deal of sorghum and cotton, but little Guinea corn or millet. Besides tobes, hoes for field-labour, cowries, and natron from the Bahr el Ghazál form the principal commodities. As a sort of curiosity, my servants mentioned a kind of bread or tiggra made of the fruit of the hájilíj or *Balanites Ægyptiaca* (the "bíto" of the Kanúri), and called "sírne." As a specimen of the great diversity of individual manners which prevails in these regions, I will here mention that the fárda in A'bú-Gher, which is the standard currency of the market, is different from that used in Más-eñá, measuring three drà in length and one hand in width. The village of A'bú-

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Gher consists of two separate groups divided by a vale or depression, where the market is held, and containing a considerable proportion of Fúlbe or Felláta inhabitants, who were the founders of the village.

Finding that I was not allowed to stir from the place where I was, I resigned myself in patience, and tried to take occasionally a little exercise round the town, when roving about, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, I made by degrees a general survey of the town, which I have incorporated into the accompanying ground-plan, which, though very imperfect, and not pretending in any way to absolute accuracy, will nevertheless serve to give the reader a fair idea of the place.

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CHAP. L.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN. — ARRIVAL OF THE SULTAN. — FINAL DEPARTURE.

THE town of Más-eñá extends over a considerable area, the circumference of which measures about seven miles; but only about half of this area is inhabited, the principal quarter being formed in the midst of the town on the north and west sides of the palace of the sultan, while a few detached quarters and isolated yards lie straggling about as outposts. The most characteristic feature of the place consists in a deep trough-like depression or bottom, stretching out to a great length, and intersecting the town from east to west, in the same manner as the town of Kanó is intersected by the Jákara; for this hollow of the capital of Bagírmi, after the rainy season, is filled with water, and on this account is called "bedá" by the natives, and "el bahr" by the Arabs, while during part of the dry season it is clothed with the richest verdure. It is remarkable that not only in this respect the town of Más-eñá resembles that of Kanó, but, like the great market-place of Háusa, its surface is also broken by many other hollows, which contain the wells, and during the rainy season are changed into deep ponds, which, by accumulating all the refuse of the town, cause a great deal of insalubrity;

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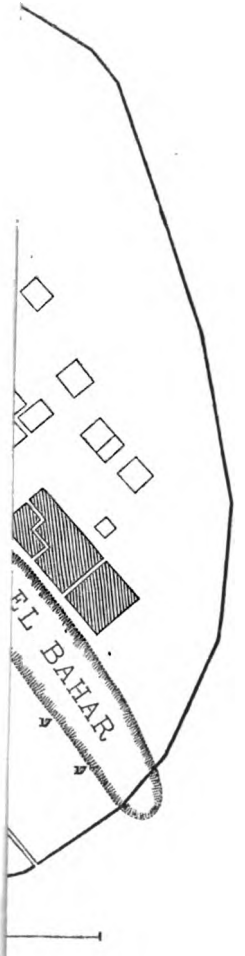
To face p. 388. of Vol. III.



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but in general the soil, consisting of sand, dries very quickly after a fall of rain.

The principal quarter of the town lies on the south side of the great hollow or bedá; but even this very central quarter is far from being densely inhabited, and was less so during the first month of my residence, owing to the absence of the sultan. The central point of this quarter, at least in regard to its importance, if not to its position, is the palace of the sultan, the whole arrangement of which is in general similar to the residences of the chiefs in other towns, consisting of irregular clusters of clay buildings and huts. But there is a remarkable feature in this palace, which distinguishes it in a very conspicuous manner from all other buildings of the kind in these countries. This difference consists in the wall which surrounds the whole building being built, not of sun-dried, but of baked bricks. I have had an opportunity of describing, on my journey from Kanó to Kúkawa, the ruins of the town of Ghámbarú, which is built of the same material; and I shall further on describe those of Bírni or Ghasréggomo, the old capital of Bórnu, constructed in the same manner. But at present the traveller looks in vain for such solid buildings in any of the towns of Negroland; and I was therefore not a little surprised at finding it here, in a place where one might least expect to see it.*

* There is another ruin of baked bricks outside the town, on the road to A'bú-Gher.

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It was not, however, a building of recent date, but built at least fifty, or perhaps a hundred years ago, or probably more, and was at present in a considerable state of decay. It forms a quadrangle of a somewhat oblong shape, the front looking towards the N.W., and measures from 1500 to 1600 yards in circumference. It must once have been a very strong building, the walls measuring about ten feet at the base, and from fifteen to twenty feet in height, and the entrance-gate being formed by thick wooden planks bound with iron. Upon entering, we first got into an open courtyard, in the eastern part of which there was a large oblong building or hall built of clay, which formed the public place of audience. Adjoining this there was a hut, wherein the kadamánge, or zérma—for he had lately risen in the service —who had been installed as lieutenant-governor, had his official residence, while further westward another hut formed the entrance-hall into the inner or private apartments of the sultan, which I shall notice on the occasion of my audience with the sovereign.

The whole south-eastern part of the palace, being inclosed by a separate wall, is entirely devoted to the female portion of the royal household, and is full of huts, the number of which, of course, I am not able to tell, having had no access to this sacred and most secluded part of the residence. According to report, at least, the sultan is said to have from 300 to 400 wives. The huts are of various sizes and descriptions, in conformity with the character of the tenant of

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each. In front of the palace a spacious area or square is laid out, ornamented with six karáge-trees, besides a fine tamarind-tree which grows a little on one side of the entrance to the palace. Adjacent to the royal residence, on the west side, is the large house of the fácha, or commander-in-chief, and towards the east a mosque, of small dimensions, with a minaret at the north-west corner. The other sides are occupied by the residences of some of the principal courtiers, such as the mánja, the zérma, and the bárma. The principal street of the town joins this area in the north-west corner; and along it lie the dwellings of some of the other principal men. At the spot where this road passes by the north side of the deep hollow or concavity above described (12), it is crossed by another principal street, which, in a straight line, proceeds from the gate leading to A'bú-Gher, and intersects the market-place.

My own residence was situated at the south-western angle of the inhabited quarter; and while it had the advantage of being in an open and airy situation, it had also the disadvantage of being visible from almost every part of the town, so that I could not step out of my room without being seen by all the people around.

Dilapidated as was the appearance of the whole town, it had a rather varied aspect, as all the open grounds were enlivened with fresh pasture; but there is no appearance of industry, and the whole has the character of a mere artificial residence of the

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people immediately connected with the court. The market-place is rather small, and not provided with a single stall, the people being obliged to protect themselves as well as they can, by forming a new temporary shed every market-day. The most interesting aspect is afforded by the bedá, or bahr, which is bordered on the south-west side by a few picturesque groups of dúm-palms and other trees of fine foliage, while at the western end, near the market-place, there is a large extent of kitchen-gardens, as well as near the south-eastern extremity. In consequence of the peculiar nature of the bedá, the direct communication between the northern and southern quarters, which during the dry season is kept up by a good path, seems to be occasionally interrupted during the rains.

The construction of the houses in general is good, and the thatchwork of the roofs formed with great care, and even with neatness; but the clay is of rather a bad description for building, and the clay houses afford so little security during the rainy season, that most people prefer residing during that part of the year in the huts of reeds and straw: and I myself had sufficient opportunity of becoming acquainted with the frail character of these structures. There are, however, some pretty-looking houses on the road to A'bú-Gher.

The walls of the town, in most places, are in a state of great decay, so that the gates in reality have lost all importance; nevertheless there are still nine gates, or rather openings, in use. Most of them lie on the

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south side, while there is not a single gate towards the north, this quarter of the town being so deserted that it is even overgrown with dense underwood. All around the place, as well on the south side, where a large pond is formed in the rainy season, as on the other sides, there are villages inhabited by Shúwa or Shíwa (native Arabs), principally of the tribe of the Benî Hassan, who supply the town with milk and butter.

Besides studying, roving about, paying now an official visit to the lieutenant-governor, then a more interesting private one to my friend Sámbo, much of my time was also occupied with giving medicine to the people, — especially during the early period of my stay; for the small stock of medicines which I brought with me was soon exhausted. But even if I had possessed a much larger supply, I might perhaps have been tempted to withhold occasionally the little aid I could afford, on account of the inhospitable treatment which I received; and in the beginning I was greatly pestered by the lieutenant, who sent me to some decrepit old women, who had broken their limbs and in every respect were quite fit for the grave. I then protested officially against being sent in future to patients at least of the other sex, beyond a certain age.

But sometimes the patients proved rather interesting, particularly the females; and I was greatly amused one morning when a handsome and well-grown young person arrived with a servant of

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the lieutenant-governor, and entreated me to call and see her mother, who was suffering from a sore in her right ear. Thinking that her house was not far off, I followed her on foot, but had to traverse the whole town, as she was living near the gate leading to A'bú-Gher; and it caused some merriment to my friends to see me strutting along with this young lady. But afterwards, when I visited my patient, I used to mount my horse; and the daughter was always greatly delighted when I came, and frequently put some very pertinent questions to me, as to how I was going on with my household, as I was staying quite alone. She was a very handsome person, and would even have been regarded so in Europe, with the exception of her skin, the glossy black of which I thought very becoming at the time, and almost essential to female beauty.

The princesses also, or the daughters of the absent king, who in this country too bear the title of "mairam" or "méram," called upon me occasionally, under the pretext of wanting some medicines. Amongst others, there came one day a buxom young maiden, of very graceful but rather coquettish demeanour, accompanied by an elder sister, of graver manners and fuller proportions, and complained to me that she was suffering from a sore in her eyes, begging me to see what it was; but when, upon approaching her very gravely, and inspecting her eyes rather attentively without being able to discover the least defect, I told her that all was right, and that her eyes

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were sound and beautiful, she burst out into a roar of laughter, and repeated, in a coquettish and flippant manner, "beautiful eyes, beautiful eyes."

There is a great difference between the Kanúri and Bagírmi females, the advantage being entirely with the latter, who certainly rank among the finest women in Negroland, and may well compete with the Fúlbe or Felláta; for if they are excelled by them in slenderness of form and lightness of colour, they far surpass them in their majestic growth and their symmetrical and finely-shaped limbs, while the lustre and blackness of their eyes are celebrated all over Negroland. Of their domestic virtues, however, I cannot speak, as I had not sufficient opportunity to enable me to give an opinion upon so difficult a question. I will only say that on this subject I have heard much to their disadvantage; and I must own that I think it was not all slander. Divorce is very frequent among them as inclination changes. Indeed I think that the Bagírmi people are more given to intrigues than their neighbours; and among the young men sanguinary encounters in love affairs are of frequent occurrence. The son of the lieutenant-governor himself was at that time in prison on account of a severe wound which he had inflicted upon one of his rivals. In this respect the Bágrimma very nearly approach the character of the people of Wádáy, who are famous on account of the furious quarrels in which they often become involved in matters of love.

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Occasionally there occurred some petty private affairs of my friends which caused some little interruption in the uniform course of my life. Now it was my old friend Bú-Bakr, from Bákadá, who complained of his wife, who resided here in Más-eñá, and who did not keep his house as well and economically as he desired, and, when he occasionally came into the town, did not treat him so kindly as he thought she ought to do, so that he came to the serious conclusion of divorcing her. Another time my restless friend was in pursuit of a runaway slave, who had tried to escape beyond the Báchikám.

Then it was my friend Háj A'hmed, who complained to me of his disappointment, and how he had been overreached by his enemies and rivals. He was certainly in an awkward position in this country; and I could never get quite at the bottom of his story. For, as I have mentioned above, he had been sent from Medína in order to obtain from the king of Bagírmi a present of eunuchs; but now, after he had been residing here about a year and a half, having been continually delayed by the ruler of the country, another messenger had arrived, who, it seemed, was to reap the fruits of my friend's labours. Háj A'hmed had accompanied the sultan on his expedition the previous year; but he had almost lost his life, having received a severe wound in the head, from one of those iron hand-bills which form the chief weapon of the pagan tribes towards the south. He therefore thought it better this time to remain behind; but he

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made no end of complaints, on account of the miserly and inhospitable treatment of the lieutenant-governor. The situation of my friend became the more lamentable when his female slave, the only one he had at the time, managed to make her escape, having thrown down her mistress, who had gone outside the town with her.

Scenes like these happened daily; and I had frequent opportunities of demonstrating to my friends, how the vigour and strength of the Christian empires of Europe were principally based upon their capability of continually renewing their vitality from free native elements, and by totally abstaining from slavery. And I further demonstrated to them that slavery had been the principal cause of the speedy overthrow of all the Mohammedan dynasties and empires that had ever flourished.

Another time it was my friend Slímán, who, besides topics of a more serious nature, used to entertain me with stories from his domestic life; for, being of a roving disposition, ever changing, and of rather desultory habits, he was accustomed to contract temporary matches for a month, which of course gave him a great insight into the habits of the females of the countries which he traversed on his peregrinations.

At another time some natural phenomena gave me some occupation. Amongst the nuisances with which the country of Bagírmi abounds, the large black ant called "kingíbbu" and "kangífu" in Kanúri, "kís-

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sino" in tar Bágrimma (the language of Bagírmi)—*termes mordax*,— is one of the most troublesome; and besides some smaller skirmishes with this insect, I had to sustain, one day, a very desperate encounter with a numerous host of these voracious little creatures, that were attacking my residence with a stubborn pertinacity which would have been extremely amusing if it had not too intimately affected my whole existence. In a thick uninterrupted line, about an inch broad, they one morning suddenly came marching over the wall of my court-yard, and entering the hall which formed my residence by day and night, they made straight for my store-room; but unfortunately, my couch being in their way, they attacked my own person most fiercely, and soon obliged me to decamp. We then fell upon them, killing those that were straggling about and foraging, and burning the chief body of the army as it came marching along the path; but fresh legions came up, and it took us at least two hours before we could fairly break the lines and put the remainder of the hostile army to flight.

On this occasion the insects seemed to have been attracted entirely by the store of corn which I had laid in from Bákadá. In general their hostile attacks have also a beneficial effect, for, as they invade the huts of the natives, they destroy all sorts of vermin, mice included. But while in some respects these black ants may be called the "scavengers of the houses," in many parts of Negroland they often become also very useful by their very greediness in

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gathering what man wants entirely for himself; for they lay in such a considerable store of corn, that I have very often observed the poor natives, not only in these regions, but even along the shores of the Niger, digging out their holes, in order to possess themselves of their supplies.

Besides these large black ants, the small red ant, called in Bórnu "kítta-kítta," and in Bagírmi "kís-sasé," is found in great numbers, and becomes often very troublesome by its very smallness, as it gets so easily into all sorts of dresses without being observed. I was once greatly amused in witnessing a battle between this small red ant and the white ant, called "kanám" in Bórnu, and here "nyó" (*termes fatalis*), when the latter were very soon vanquished by the warriors of the former species, who, notwithstanding their smaller size, were carrying them off with great speed and alacrity to their holes; for the white ant is powerless as soon as it gets out of its subterranean passages, which impart to them strength, as the earth did to Antæus.

The rains, which at first had set in with considerable violence, had afterwards almost ceased, so that the herbage on the open uncultivated grounds in the town became quite withered, and many of the people, who upon the first appearance of rain had been induced to trust their seeds to the soil, were sadly disappointed; and I have already had occasion to relate that the natives, including their chief, attributed this state of the weather to my malignant influence.

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However, I was delighted when I sometimes made a little excursion on horseback in the environs of the capital, to see that the open country was less dry than the inside of the town, although even there as yet little cultivation was to be seen. It seemed very remarkable to me that here, as well as in the other parts of the country, especially Bákadá, the corn was generally cultivated in deep furrows and ridges or "derába," a mode of tillage which I had not observed in any other country of Negroland through which I had travelled. The people, however, were very suspicious whenever I mounted on horseback; and the first time they saw me galloping off, they thought I was going to make my escape, and were therefore all on the look-out.

All this time the sultan or "bánga" was absent, and the false news which was repeatedly told of his whereabouts kept up a continual excitement. When I first arrived in the country, he had gone a considerable distance towards the south-east, and was besieging a place called Gógomi, which was strongly fortified by nature, and made a long resistance, so that the besieging army lost a great many of their best men, and among them an Arab sherif who had joined the expedition. But at length the place was taken, and the courtiers prevailed upon the prince to retrace his steps homewards, as they were suffering a great deal from famine; so much so that the greatest part of the army were obliged to live upon the fruit of the deléb-palm (*Borassus flabelliformis?*), which seems

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to be the predominant tree in many of the southern provinces of Bagírmi.

After false reports of the sultan's approach had been spread repeatedly, he at length July 3rd. really arrived. Of course, the excitement of the whole population was very great, almost all the fighting men having been absent from home for more than six months.

It was about nine o'clock in the morning when the army approached the south side of the town, displaying a great deal of gorgeous pomp and barbaric magnificence, although it was not very numerous, being reduced to the mere number of the inhabitants of the capital, the remainder having already dispersed in all directions, and returned to their respective homes. Thus there were not more than from 700 to 800 horsemen, or "malásínda;" but my friend the sheríf Slimán (who, exasperated at the bad treatment of the lieutenant-governor, had left the capital to join the expedition, and who, as far as I had an opportunity of trying him, was not inclined to exaggerate) assured me that, even on their return, the army mustered at least 2000 horsemen.

At the head of the troop, as having supplied the place of his master during his absence, in his character of lieutenant-governor, rode the kadamánge, surrounded by a troop of horsemen. Then followed the bárma, behind whom was carried a long spear of peculiar make, which in the history of this country

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forms a very conspicuous object, being meant originally to represent an idol, which is said to have been transplanted from the parent state Kénga Matáya, and evidently bore a great resemblance to the "féte" of the Marghí and Músgu. Just in front of the sultan rode the fácha, or commander-in-chief, who is the second person in the kingdom, similar to the keghámma in the old empire of Bórnu, and who in former times possessed extraordinary power. The sultan himself wore a yellow bernús, and was mounted upon a grey charger, the excellence of which was scarcely to be distinguished, it being dressed in war-cloth, or líbbedí, of various-coloured stripes, such as I have described on my expedition to Músgu. Even the head of the sultan himself was scarcely to be seen, not only on account of the horsemen riding in front and around him, but more particularly owing to two umbrellas, the one of green and the other of red colour, which a couple of slaves carried on each side of him.

Six slaves, their right arm clad in iron, were fanning him with ostrich feathers attached to long poles; and round about him rode five chieftains, while on his right were seen the ghelétma and other principal men of the country. This whole group round the prince formed such a motley array, that it was impossible to distinguish all the particular features with accuracy; but, as far as I was able to make out from the description of the natives, there were about thirty individuals clad in bernúses, while the others wore nothing but black or blue-coloured shirts, and had

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their heads mostly uncovered. Close behind this group followed the war-camel, upon which was mounted the drummer, "kodgánga," who was exerting his skill upon two kettle-drums which were fastened on each side of the animal; and near him rode three musicians, two of whom carried a bukí, "kája," or small horn, and the third a jójo or "zózo," a sort of double derabúka.

However grotesque the appearance of the royal cavalcade, that part of the procession which followed was more characteristic of the barbaric magnificence, and whole manner of living, of these African courts. It consisted of a long uniform train of forty-five favourite female slaves, or concubines, "habbabát," of the sultan, mounted on horseback, and dressed from top to toe in black native cloth, each having a slave on either side. The procession terminated in a train of eleven camels carrying the luggage. The number of the infantry or "malajá" was also limited, as most of them had returned to their respective homes. But, on the other hand, almost all the people of the town had come out to see the victorious army on their return.

This day, however, the sultan did not enter the capital, but, in conformity with the sacred custom of the kings of this country on their return from an expedition, was obliged to encamp among the ruins of the oldest quarter on the west side of the town; and it was not until Sunday the 4th day of July, about

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noon, that he made his solemn entry. This time, however, the "habbabát" did not form part of the procession, having entered the town early in the morning; but their absence was atoned for by the presence of a greater number of horsemen, and behind the drummer on camel's back followed an interesting warlike train, consisting of fifteen fiery chargers, all clad in líbbedí, and better adapted, it would seem, to the serious game of Mars, than the train of lovely damsels.

On this occasion, the bánga led in his triumphant procession seven pagan chiefs, amongst whom that of Gógomi was the most conspicuous person, and the greatest ornament of the triumph, being not less remarkable for his tall, stately figure than on account of his having been the ruler of a considerable pagan state, with a capital in an almost inaccessible position. He excited the interest of the savage and witty Bagírmi people, by submitting with a great deal of good humour to his fate, which was certainly not very enviable, as it is the custom in this country either to kill or to emasculate these princely prisoners, after having conducted them for some time through all the court-yards of the palace, while allowing the wives and female slaves of the sultan to indulge their capricious and wanton dispositions in all sorts of fun with them. The horrible custom of castration is perhaps in no country of Central Negroland practised to such an extent as in Bagírmi.

The booty in slaves did not seem to have been very

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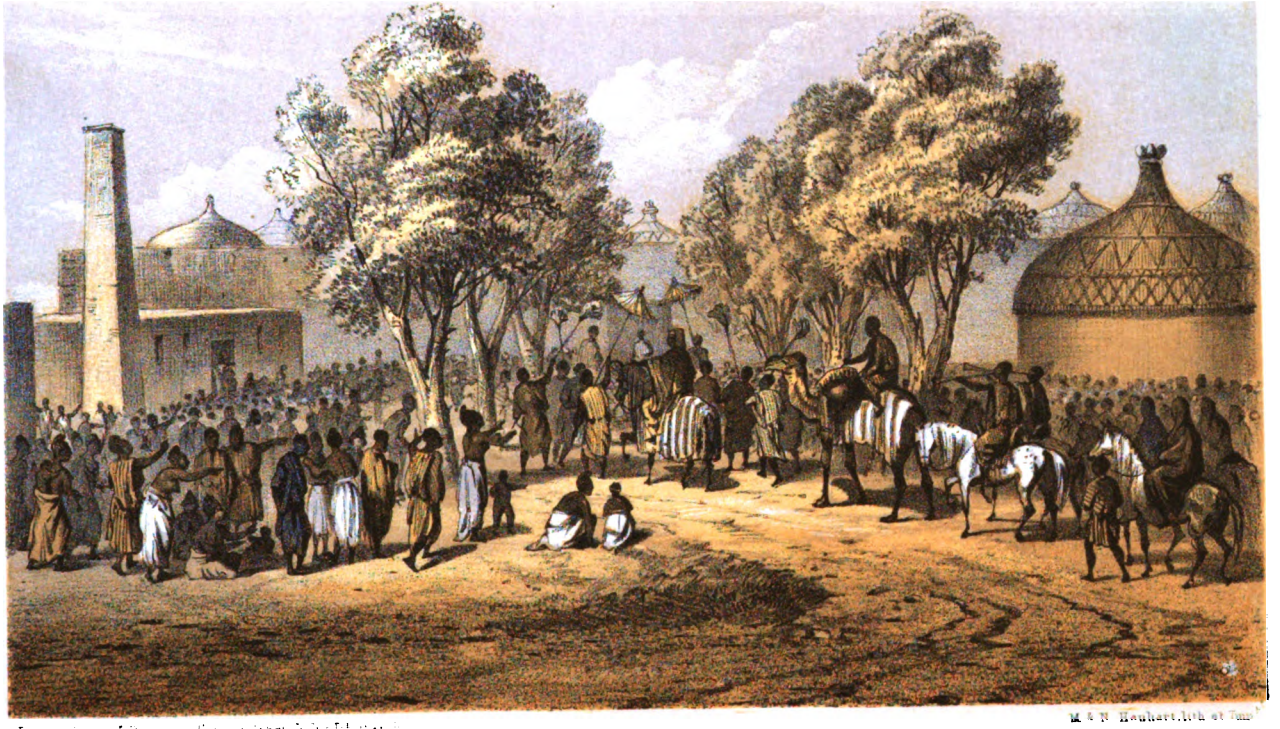

M & N Hanhart, lith et imp

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sultan himself [illegible] of [illegible] individuals. The sultan passed [illegible] town, along the principal road [illegible] gate, and, proceeding along [illegible] entered his palace amid the [illegible] and the clapping of hands (the "[illegible]" or "[illegible]" it is here called) of the women.

Although I had not yet paid my compliments to the bánga, he sent two messengers in the afternoon to bid me welcome. These messengers were the brother and son of one of the [illegible] country, with the title or name [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] by all the people as [illegible] intelligent [illegible] in the country. However, he had returned in a bad state of health, and, unfortunately for me, succumbed in a few days.

I informed the messengers [illegible] I had [illegible] when they [illegible] sultan [illegible] soon as [illegible] forwarded [illegible] vide me with a [illegible] away, and [illegible] and a large supply of [illegible] of which I [illegible]

The next morning [illegible] being accompanied by my old [illegible]

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considerable, although the prince had been absent from home for six months; and the whole share of the sultan himself seemed to consist of about four hundred individuals. The sultan passed slowly through the town, along the principal road from the western gate, and, proceeding along the "déndal," or "bokó," entered his palace amid the acclamations of the people and the clapping of hands (the "kabéllo" or "tófaji," as it is here called) of the women.

Although I had not yet paid my compliments to the bánga, he sent two messengers in the afternoon to bid me welcome. These messengers were the brother and son of one of the chief men of the country, with the title or name "Máina Beládemí," who was a sort of consul of Bórnu, and was represented to me by all the people as one of the most intelligent men in the country. However, he had returned in a bad state of health, and, unfortunately for me, succumbed in a few days.

I informed the messengers of the prince how badly I had been treated, when they assured me that the sultan did not know anything about it, and that as soon as he had received the news of my arrival he had forwarded orders to the lieutenant-governor to provide me with a milch-cow. The messengers then went away, and soon returned with a sheep, some butter, and a large supply of kréb, the seed of a sort of grass of which I have spoken on former occasions.

The next morning I went to pay a visit to Máina, being accompanied by my old runaway guide Gréma

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'Abdú, who, after having left me to my own fate in Bákadá had gone to join the sultan in the expedition. However, the place where the sick man was lying was so dark that, convinced as I was of the seriousness of his illness, I found a pretext for not giving him any medicine; and this was very lucky for me, as his death, which took place a few days afterwards, would certainly have been attributed by these savage people to my remedies.

The same evening I was informed that an express messenger had come from Kúkawa with despatches for me, the caravan from Fezzán having at length arrived. But having been repeatedly disappointed by similar reports, I did not give myself up to vain expectation, and passed a very tranquil night.

Thus arrived the 6th of July, one of the most lucky days of my life; for having been more than a year without any means whatever, and struggling with my fate, in the endeavour to do as much as possible before I returned home, I suddenly found myself authorized to carry out the objects of this expedition on a more extensive scale, and found sufficient means placed at my disposal for attaining that object. The messenger, however, managed his business very cleverly; for having two large parcels of letters for me, one only containing despatches from the Foreign Office, and the other containing a large amount of private correspondence, he brought me first the former, which had been very carefully packed up in Kúkawa, in a long strip of fine cotton (gábagá), and

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then sewn in red and yellow leather, without saying a word about the other parcel; but when I had read at my leisure the despatches which honoured me with the confidence of Her Britannic Majesty's government, and had rewarded his zeal with a new shirt, he went away, and soon returned with the second parcel, and a packet containing ten túrkedí, native cotton cloth, from Kanó, which at Mr. Overweg's request the vizier of Bórnu had sent me, and three of which I immediately presented to the messenger and his two companions.

The number of private letters from England, as well as from Germany, was very considerable; and all of them contained the acknowledgment of what I had done, the greatest recompense which a traveller in these regions can ever aspire to. No doubt the responsibility also thus thrown upon me was very great, and the conclusion at which I had arrived from former experience, that I should not be able to fulfil the many exaggerated expectations which were entertained of my future proceedings, was oppressive; for, in almost all the letters from private individuals, there was expressed the persuasion that I and my companion should be able, without any great exertion, and in a short space of time, to cross the whole of the unknown region of equatorial Africa, and reach the south-eastern coast, — an undertaking the idea of which certainly I myself had originated, but which, I had become convinced in the course of my travels, was utterly impossible, except at the sacrifice of a

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great number of years, for which I found the state of my health entirely insufficient, besides a body of trustworthy and sincerely attached men, and a considerable supply of means. Moreover I found, to my surprise and regret, that the sum of 800*l.* placed at my disposal by Lord Palmerston remained a dead letter, none of the money having been forwarded from Tripoli,—a sum of about fifteen hundred dollars, which had been previously sent, being regarded as sufficient.

In this perplexity, produced by nothing but goodwill and a superabundance of friendly feeling, I was delighted to find that Her Majesty's government, and Lord Palmerston in particular*, held out a more practicable project by inviting me to endeavour to reach Timbúktu. To this plan, therefore, I turned my full attention, and in my imagination dwelt with delight upon the thought of succeeding in the field of the glorious career of Mungo Park.

For the present, however, I was still in Bagírmi, that is to say, in a country where, under the veil of Islám, a greater amount of superstitious ideas prevail than in many of the pagan countries; and I was revelling in the midst of my literary treasures, which had just carried me back to the political and scientific domains of Europe, and all the letters from those distant regions were lying scattered on my simple couch, when all of a sudden one of my servants came

* See the Despatch in the Appendix, No. V.

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running into my room, and hastily informed me that a numerous *cortége* of messengers had just arrived from court.

I had scarcely time to conceal my treasure under my mat when the courtiers arrived; and in a few moments my room was filled with black people and black tobes. The messengers who had brought me the letters, had likewise been the bearers of a letter addressed by the ruler of Bórnu to the bánga of Bagírmi, who in a certain respect was tributary to him, requesting him to allow me to return without delay to his country, in the company of the messengers. There were some twenty persons, besides the lieutenant-governor or kadamánge, and the two relations of Máina; and the manner in which they behaved was so remarkable, that I was almost afraid lest I should be made prisoner a second time. There could be no doubt that they had heard of the large correspondence which I had received. But there had been moreover a great deal of suspicion, from my first arrival, that I was a Turkish spy. There was even a pilgrim who, from his scanty stock of geographical and ethnological knowledge, endeavoured to persuade the people that I was an "Arnaut," who, he said, were the only people in the world that wore stockings. Be this as it may, the courtiers were afraid of coming forward abruptly with the real object of their visit, and at first pretended they wished to see the presents that I had brought for the sultan. These consisted of a caftan of red cloth, of

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good quality, which I had bought in Tripoli for nine dollars; a repeater watch, from Nuremberg, bought for ten dollars, with a twisted silk guard of Tripolitan workmanship; a shawl, with silk border; an English knife and pair of scissors; cloves, and a few other things. The watch, of course, created the greatest astonishment, as it was in good repair at the time, although it was a pity that we had not been provided with good English manufactures, but had been left to pick up what articles we might think suitable to our purpose.

Having also asked to see my telescope, which of course could only increase their surprise and astonishment, they then, after a great deal of beckoning and whispering among each other, which made me feel rather uneasy, requested to see the book in which I wrote down everything I saw and heard. Without hesitation I took out my memorandum-book and showed it to them; but I had first to assert its identity. In order to allay their suspicions, I spontaneously read to them several passages from it which referred to the geography and ethnography of the country; and I succeeded in making them laugh and become merry, so that they even added some names where my lists were deficient. They then begged me to allow them to take the book to the sultan; and I granted their request without hesitation.

This frankness of mine completely baffled the intrigues of my enemies, and allayed the suspicions of the natives; for they felt sure that, if I had any evil

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intention in writing down an account of the country, I should endeavour to do all in my power to conceal what I had written.

Thus they departed, carrying with them my journal; and I was informed afterwards that the sultan had then sent for all the learned men in the town, in order to hear their opinion upon my book. And it was perhaps fortunate for me that the principal among them was my friend Sámbo, who, being well acquainted with my scientific pursuits, represented my notes as a very innocent and merely scientific matter. My journal, which no one was able to read, was consequently returned to me uninjured. In the afternoon my friend Sámbo called upon me, and related to me the whole story: he also informed me that the only reason why I had not obtained an audience with the sultan this day was the above-mentioned letter of the sheikh of Bórnu, which had in a certain degree offended their feelings of independence; and in fact I did not obtain an audience until the 8th.

July 8th. I had just sent word to Sámbo, begging him to hasten my departure, and had received a visit from some friends of mine, when Gréma ʿAbdú came, with a servant of the sultan, in order to conduct me into his presence, whereupon I sent to Sámbo, as well as to my host Bú-Bakr of Bákadá, who was just then present in the town, inviting them to accompany me to the prince. On arriving at the palace, I was led into an inner courtyard, marked *d* in the ground-plan, where the courtiers

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were sitting on either side of a door which led into an inner apartment, the opening or doorway of which was covered by a "kasár" or, as it is called here, "párpara," made of a fine species of reed, as I have mentioned in my description of the capital of Logón. In front of the door, between the two lines of the courtiers, I was desired to sit down, together with my companions.

Being rather puzzled to whom to address myself, as no one was to be seen who was in any way distinguished from the rest of the people, all the courtiers being simply dressed in the most uniform style, in black, or rather blue tobes, and all being bare-headed, I asked aloud, before beginning my address, whether the sultan 'Abd el Káder was present; and an audible voice answered from behind the screen, that he was present. Being then sure that it was the sultan whom I addressed, although I should have liked better to have seen him face to face, I paid him my respects and presented the compliments of Her Britannic Majesty's government, which, being one of the chief European powers, was very desirous of making acquaintance with all the princes of the earth, and of Negroland also, in order that their subjects, being the first traders in the world, might extend their commerce in every direction. I told him that we had friendship and treaties with almost all the nations of the earth, and that I myself was come in order to make friendship with them; for although they did not possess many articles of trade to offer, espe-

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cially as we abhorred the slave-trade, yet we were able to appreciate their ivory, and even if they had nothing to trade with, we wanted to be on good terms with all princes. I told him, moreover, that we were the best of friends with the sultan of Stambúl, and that all who were acquainted with us knew very well that we were excellent people, trustworthy, and full of religious feelings, who had no other aim but the welfare of mankind, universal intercourse, and peaceable interchange of goods. I protested that we did not take notes of the countries which we visited with any bad purpose, but merely in order to be well acquainted with their government, manners, and customs, and to be fully aware what articles we might buy from, and what articles we might sell to them. Thus already "Ráís Khalíl" (Major Denham) had formed, I said, the design of paying his compliments to his (the sultan's) father, but that the hostile relations which prevailed at that time between Bagírmi and Bórnu had prevented him from executing his plan, when he had reached Logón, and that, from the same motives, I had now come for no other purpose than the benefit of his country; but that, nevertheless, notwithstanding my best intentions, I had been illtreated by his own people, as they had not been acquainted with my real character. I stated that it had been my ardent desire to join him on the expedition, in order to see him in the full exercise of his power, but that his people had not allowed me to carry out my design.

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The whole of my speech, which I made in Arabic, was translated, phrase for phrase, by my blind friend Sámbo, who occasionally gave me a hint when he thought I spoke in too strong terms. The parcel containing my presents was then brought forward, and placed before me, in order that I might open it myself and explain the use of each article.

While exhibiting the various articles, I did not neglect to make the watch strike repeatedly, which created the greatest astonishment and surprise among the spectators, who had never seen or heard anything like it. I then added, in conclusion, that it was my sincere wish, after having remained in this country nearly four months, confined and watched like a prisoner, to return to Kúkawa without any further delay, as I had a great deal of business there, and at the present moment was entirely destitute of means; but that if he would guarantee me full security, and if circumstances should permit, I myself, or my companion, would return at a later period. Such a security having been promised to me, and the whole of my speech having been approved of, I went away.

I had scarcely returned to my quarters when the two relations of Máina Beládemí, Máina Kánadí and Sabún, called upon me, with a very mysterious countenance, and, after some circumlocution, made known the grave errand upon which they had been sent, which was to ask whether I had not a cannon with me; and when I expressed my astonishment at

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their thinking I was supplied with such an article, while my whole luggage was carried on the back of one weak she-camel, they stated that the sultan was at least anxious to know whether I was not able to manufacture one myself. Having professed my inability to do so, they went away, but returned the next day, with many compliments from their master, who, they said, was anxious that I should accept from his hands a handsome female slave, of whose charms they gave a very eloquent description, and that it was also his intention to furnish me with a camel, and provide me with two horsemen who should escort me back to Bórnu. I told them that, although sensible of my solitary situation, I could not accept such a thing as a slave from the sultan, and that I did not care about anything else but permission to depart, except that I should feel obliged to him if he would give me a few specimens of their manufactures. They then promised that the next day I should have another audience with the sultan; and they kept their word.

This time also I was only able to address the sultan without seeing him, when I repeated my request that he would allow me to depart without any further delay, as I had most urgent business in Kúkawa; but I received the answer that, although the road was open to me, the sultan, as the powerful ruler of a mighty kingdom, could not allow me to depart empty-handed. I then, in order to further my request, presented him with a small telescope, in the

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use of which I instructed his people. Having returned to my quarters, I assured my friends, who came to inform me that it was the sultan's intention to make me a splendid present in return for those I had given him, that I did not care for anything except a speedy return to Bórnu, as there was no prospect that I should be allowed to penetrate further eastward. But all my protests proved useless, as these people were too little acquainted with the European character, and there were too many individuals who, if I myself did not care about getting anything, were anxious to obtain something for themselves; I was therefore obliged to abandon myself to patience and resignation.

Meanwhile I learnt that the sultan had at first entertained the fear that I might poison him or kill him by a charm, and that he had repeatedly consulted with his learned men and counsellors how he should protect himself against my witchcraft. However, on the second day after my first audience he gave me the satisfaction of sending the inspector of the river, or the khalífa bá, together with that servant of his (or kashélla) who had put me into chains at Mélé, in order to beg my pardon officially, which of course I granted them most cordially, as I was too well aware that a traveller in a new country cannot expect to be well treated. As for that Púllo or Felláta individual, resident in Bagírmi, who (by inspiring the ferry-men at the frontier with fear and suspicion concerning my entering the country)

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had been the chief cause of the injurious treatment which I had experienced, he had been introduced to me some time previous to the arrival of the sultan, by my cheerful and good-natured friend Bú-Bakr of Bákadá, when, against my wish, he persisted in clearing himself by an oath that he had done me no harm. This he managed rather cleverly, by swearing that he had never instigated the ferrymen to drown me in the river, a crime which I was very far from laying to his charge. However, it being my desire to be on good terms with all the people, I expressed my satisfaction, and dismissed him. On all these occasions I had full opportunity of discovering the sincere friendship which Bú-Bakr felt for me, who, being well aware of the impetuous character of Europeans, did not cease exhorting me to patience, — "sabr, sabr," "kánadí, kánadí" — certainly the most momentous words for any traveller in these regions.

I had entertained the hope of being able to get off before the great feast, or 'Aíd el kebír, here called "Ngúmre ngólo;" but it approached without any preparation for my departure having been made. A general custom prevails in this country, that, in order to celebrate this holiday, all the people of the neighbouring places must come into the town; and for the chief men of each place this is even a duty, by neglecting which they would incur a severe penalty. But on the present occasion the holiday was changed into a day of mourning; for at July 19th.

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the dawn of this very day, Máina Beládemí, who was generally esteemed as the most excellent man in the country, died, causing a severe loss to the sultan himself, whose confidence he enjoyed to the fullest extent, having saved the life of his father when persecuted by his fácha.

According to his own request, the deceased was not buried in or near the town, but was carried a distance of several miles, to a place called Bídderí, which, as I shall have another occasion to explain, was the first seat of Islám in this country, and is still the residence of some highly respected religious chiefs.

This sad event, though it was not unforeseen, cast a gloom over the whole festival; and it was not till about noon that the sultan left the town in order to offer up his prayers in the old ruined quarter towards the west—for, as I have already had repeated occasion to remark, it is a sacred custom all over Negroland, that the sovereign of the country on this day cannot say his prayers inside the town. Having remained in the old dilapidated quarter, in a tent which had been pitched for the occasion, till after "dhohor," he returned into the town; but the day, which had begun unfavourably, ended also with a bad omen, for in the evening a storm broke out, of such violence that three apartments inside the palace came down with a frightful crash, and caused a great uproar in the whole quarter, as if the town had been taken by an enemy.

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Fortunately, I myself had taken sufficient precaution to strengthen the roof of my house, so that although the floor was entirely swamped, the roof remained firm; for having observed, some days previously, that the principal beam which supported the terrace was broken, and having endeavoured in vain to persuade my host to have it repaired, I ordered my servants to take away a large pole from a neighbouring courtyard, and place it as a support for the roof.

Since the return of the sultan, the rainy season had set in with great violence, and it rained almost daily. The consequence was, that the open places and the wide uninhabited quarters of the town were again clad in the freshest verdure, the whole affording a very pleasant aspect, while the bedá, or balır, was filling with water. There was now also much more intercourse in the town, since the people had returned from the expedition; but I did not stir about so much as before, not only on account of the wet, but also owing to the effrontery of some of the slaves: for these people, who are scarcely acquainted with any other kind of dress than a black shirt, and who altogether occupy a low stage in civilization, found constant fault with my dress, and, with a few exceptions, were not on good terms with me.

On account of my poverty, which did not allow me to make many presents except needles, I had certainly deserved the title of "Needle-prince" or "Malá-ríbra," which they had given me; but besides this the

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natives had also given me another nickname, meaning "Father of the three," which originated in my wearing generally, besides stockings, a pair of thin leather slippers, and thick overshoes; while these people usually go barefoot, and do not even wear sandals, except when they go to a great distance.

Occasionally, however, I visited the market, which although at present in many respects better stocked, was not so regularly kept, owing to the rains, and not so well attended on account of the labours which were going on in the fields. Even slaves were now brought into the market, sometimes as many as thirty, each being sold for from 25 to 30 khalágs, or kholgán ("lebú", common white shirts), a price equal to from six to seven Spanish dollars. Cattle too were at present numerous, having not only been brought in from the pagan tribes, who seem to possess only a limited supply and of a small breed, but having been taken in far larger numbers from the Shúwa tribe of the Deghá-ghera, under pretext of their disobedience. A good fat ox was sold for eight khalágs, or a little less than two dollars. During my stay in Mélé, I had observed that sheep were taken from Bagírmi to Bórnu, to be sold there.

In my expectation of being allowed to depart without further delay, I was sadly disappointed; and day after day passed by without any preparation for my departure. Besides, I had reason to complain of inhospitable treatment, for, although I occasionally received a dish from the sultan, far more frequently

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I remained without; but I was told, upon inquiry, that the slaves who were ordered to bring me my food used to keep it for themselves.

August 1st. It was not till this day that I became convinced that my departure was close at hand, from the fact that the slaves of my host began to dig up the soil in my courtyard, in order to sow it with derába or bámiya (*Hibiscus esculentus*); for if I had been going to stay longer, my camel would soon have destroyed the seed. But nevertheless several days elapsed before affairs were finally settled.

August 6th. At length in the afternooon, there came a long *cortége* from the sultan, conducted by Zérma or Kadamánge, Sabún, and Kánadí, with a present of fifty shirts of every kind, and which altogether might be valued at about thirty dollars. Among the shirts were seven of a better sort, all of which I sent to England, with the exception of one, which was very light, consisting of silk and cotton, and which I kept for my own wear; there were besides, twenty-three white ones of a better kind, and twenty common market-tobes.

While presenting me with this royal gift, and explaining that the sultan was sorry that I would not accept from his hands anything more valuable, either slaves or ivory, Zérma announced to me officially that I might now start when I thought proper; that hitherto neither the people of Bagírmi had known me nor I them, but that if I were to return I might regard Bagírmi as my own country. While expressing

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my thanks to the sultan for his present, as well as for the permission to depart, I told the messenger that, if they wished that either I or my brother (companion) should ever visit their country again, the sultan ought to give me a paper, testifying his permission by a special writ, sealed with his own royal seal. This they promised, and moreover told me that a man from the sultan should accompany me to the river, in order to protect me against any further intrigues of the ferrymen, my great enemies.

The sultan's munificence, although not great, enabled me to reward my friends and attendants. I had already divided the túrkedí which I had received from Kúkawa, among those nearest to me, except two or three, which I sold in the market in order to buy provisions. And of these tobes likewise I divided thirty among the people of Zérma, my own attendants, the fáki Sámbo, Bú-Bakr, and my other friends. The poor Háj A'hmed, who sustained himself here with great difficulty, was very grateful for my present, and offered up fervent prayers for my safe arrival at home, although he would have liked better if I had accompanied him on his journey eastward through Wáday and Dár-Fúr.

But, although on my first arrival in this country I had entertained the hope that it might be possible to accomplish such an undertaking, I had convinced myself that, not taking into account my entire want of proper means, it would be imprudent, under the present circumstances, to attempt such a thing; for the state

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of affairs in the country of Wádáy was exceedingly unfavourable at the time, a destructive civil war having just raged, and matters not being yet settled. My own situation in this country, moreover, was too uncertain to allow me to have sufficient supplies sent after me, to embark in such a grand enterprise; and besides, although I had become fully aware of the great interest which attaches to the empire of Wádáy, as well owing to the considerable extent of its political power, as on account of the great variety of elements of which it is composed, and also on account of its lying on the water-parting between the basin of the Tsád and that of the Nile, I felt quite sure that the western part of Negroland, along the middle course of the so-called Niger, was a far nobler and more fruitful field for my exertions. However, there was one favourable circumstance for attempting at that time a journey into Wádáy, as the messengers of the sultan (or rather of Jérma or Zérma, one of the most powerful officers in that country, who has the inspection of this province), were at present here, in order to collect the tribute which Bagírmi, in its present reduced state, has to pay to its mightier neighbour.

As for my friend the sherif Slímán, he behaved like a gentleman on this occasion, refusing my shirts, but begging for a little camphor and a pair of English scissors.

After all the delay was overcome, I at length became aware what had been the cause of it; for in the afternoon of that day my noble August 8th.

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companion Gréma 'Abdú, who had left me so unceremoniously before I reached the capital, and who altogether had been of so little use to me, came to inform me that all was now ready for our departure, he having received the five slaves whom he was to take to Kúkawa, partly for his own benefit, and partly for the benefit of his master Mestréma, who, as I have stated before, held a situation something like a consul of Bagírmi in the capital of Bórnu. Indeed there were now unmistakable signs that I was at length to leave this place, for the following day I was treated with a large dish of rice and meat, swimming in a rich abundance of butter, from the sultan, and another dish from my niggardly host the zérma or kadamánge; and on the 10th of August I really left the capital of Bagírmi, where I had certainly stayed much longer than I had desired, as I was not allowed to move freely about in the country, but where, nevertheless, I was enabled to collect a great deal of valuable information, of which that part relating to the history and general condition of the country I shall detail in the following chapter, in order to inspire the reader with a greater degree of interest in these little-known regions, while other matter will be given in the Appendix.

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CHAP. LI.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF BAGÍRMI.—GENERAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS.

WITH regard to the history of the eastern part of Negroland, we are still worse off than with regard to the western countries, however scanty the documents relating to the latter regions may be, although I may hope that, by my labours, a great deal more light has been shed upon the history of these quarters than was even suspected to exist before. But while for the kingdom of Sónghay, with its celebrated towns Gógó and Timbúktu, we have now obtained an almost continuous historical account, by the taríkh of A'hmed Bábá, and while for Bórnu tolerably rich materials have likewise come to our hands, by means of the chronicles of that empire, and of the relation of Imám A'hmed, for this eastern part of Negroland (which comprises the countries of Bagírmi, Wádáy, or Dár Sulây and Dár-Fúr) no such documents have as yet been found, and, besides the information to be gathered from the natives, only a few detached and obscure statements have been handed down to us by the Arab writers of the middle ages.

Those of the latter which relate in general to Kánem, and its capital Njímí or Njímiye, I have

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already referred to in the historical sketch which I have given of the empire of Bórnu; and the only circumstances which these writers mention, with regard to the more eastern regions, are the general names of tribes, such as the Zogháwa and the Bájó*, mentioned by E'bn Sáíd, and, on his authority, by Abú'l Fedá, as related tribes.†

The only author who distinctly speaks of these eastern regions is the Spanish Moor generally known under the name of Leo Africanus; for it is he who describes in this eastern quarter a large and powerful kingdom which he calls Gaoga. This name, especially on account of its similarity to the name of the Songhay capital, as the latter was generally written by the Arabs, has caused a great deal of confusion, and has given rise to numerous gratuitous conjectures. But if we compare Leo's statements, which are certainly very vague, and written down from memory

* The difficulty with regard to the name Bájó is considerable; for no such name as the Bájó is known, while the Dájó are a well-known tribe, who dominated Dár-Fúr in the tenth century of the Islám, and even at the present day are called "nás Faráón." Nevertheless we cannot imagine that the name Bájó is a mere clerical error for Dájó, unless we would suppose those authors guilty of a very considerable mistake, as the Dájó seem to be of an entirely distinct origin from the Zogháwa, who belong to the great Tedá stock, while the former appear to have originated in the mountainous district of Fazogló, and the Bájó are expressly stated by those authors to have been the kinsmen of the Zogháwa. The Bájó may be identical with the tribe of the Bédeyát. With regard to the Zaghây of Makrízí, and the Soka of Masúdi, I have already offered an opinion on a former occasion.

† E'bn Sáíd, in A'bú 'l Fedá, p. 158.

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after a lapse of several years, but especially what he says about the political relations of Gaoga with the empire of Bórnu, there cannot be the least doubt that his Gaoga is identical with what the Bórnu people call the empire of Bulála. And the reason why he called it Gaoga is obvious; for the Bulála, who originally formed a branch of the princely family of Kánem, guided by Jíl (surnamed Shíkomémi, from his mother Shíkoma), founded their empire in the territory of the tribe of the Kúka*, who in former times were very powerful, occupying a great extent of country, from the eastern part of Bagírmi as far as the interior of Dár-Fúr, the place Shebína, on the shore of the Bat-há, being then the principal seat of their power, while their head quarters at present are in the province of Fittrí.† Here, owing to their introducing Islám, and a certain degree of civilization, together with the Arabic alphabet called "warash," the Bulála soon appear to have obtained the sovereign power, while they founded Yáwó‡ as their new residence. While viewing the relations of the coun-

* The Bagírmi people, even at the present day, connect the Bulála in the most intimate way with the Kanúri; for while they give to the latter the name "Bíyo," they call the former "Bíyo-Bulála."

† I will here mention that Fittrí is a word belonging to the language of the Kúka, and means nothing but "river," "lake," being quite identical with "Tsád," "Sárí" or "Sháry."

‡ The name Yawó is formed entirely in the same way as that of Máwó, the present capital of Kánem, and of Gáó, or Gáw, also called Gógó, the capital of the Songhay empire.

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tries on the east side of the Tsád in this light, we get rid of every difficulty which may seem to be implied in the statements relating to Gaoga; for, when Leo says that the language of that country was identical with the idiom of Bórnu, he evidently only speaks of the language then used by the dynasty and the ruling tribe of the country, with whom on his visit to that kingdom he came into contact, and who were of the same origin as the Bórnu people, while at present, having intermingled and intermarried with the indigenous population, the Bulála, who are still the ruling family in Fittrí, appear to have forgotten their own language, and have adopted that of the Kúka. At the time when Leo wrote his description of Africa, or rather at the period when he visited Negroland (for of the events which happened after he left the country he possessed only an imperfect knowledge), the Bulála were just in the zenith of their power, being masters of all Kánem, and (according to the information of Makrízí and A'bú 'l Fedá) having in the latter half of the fourteenth century even subjected to their dominion the large tribe of the Zogháwa, may well have entered into the most intimate political relations with the rulers of Egypt, as already, a century previous to the time of Leo, Makrízí found ample opportunity in Egypt to collect all the latest news with regard to the dynasty of Kánem.

On the other hand, we can easily imagine how

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Leo could call the prince of Gaoga a Mohammedan, while the learned men of the country positively affirm that the Islám in these regions dates no further back than the eleventh century of the Hejra, the beginning of which exactly coincides with that of the seventeenth century of our era, and consequently about a century after Leo's visit to Africa; for Leo speaks only of the rulers themselves, whose religious creed, probably, had no influence upon the people of the country in general. Leo's statement entirely harmonizes with the information gleaned from Makrízí; for the princes of Kánem in the time of the latter historian were identical with the rulers of that very kingdom which Leo calls Gaoga, although in Makrízí's time they seem to have established the capital of their empire in Njímiye, which they had conquered from the Bórnu dynasty.*

Moreover this apparent discrepancy receives further explanation from the fact, that soon after Leo visited these regions the pagan nation of the Týnjur extended their empire from Dár-Fúr to the very borders of Bagírmi, opposing a strong barrier to the propagation of Islám. Respecting the name 'Omár, by which Leo designates the king of the Bulála in his time, I have already given an opinion on a former occasion. The Týnjur, of whose original language I have not

* With regard to their places of residence in the time of Edrís Alawóma, see Appendix II.

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been able to collect any specimens, and which seems to be almost extinct, are said to have come from Dóngola, where they had separated from the Batálesa, the well-known Egyptian tribe originally settled in Bénesé. Advancing from Dóngola, the Týnjur are said to have vanquished first the Dájó, who, as has been stated before, were at that period masters of Dár-Fúr, and in course of time spread over the whole of Wáday, and over part of Bagírmi, making Kádama, a place situated about three days' march to the S.W. of Wára, and halfway between Malám and Kashémeré, the capital of their extensive empire. They maintained their dominion, as far as regards Wáday, according to native tradition, ninety-nine lunar years, while the eastern portion of this loosely-connected group of different nationalities, which had been conquered at an earlier period, was wrested from their hands much sooner, by Kúro vanquishing the Týnjur, and founding the pagan kingdom of Dár-Fúr, some time before the general introduction of Islám into these countries. This Kúro himself was the third predecessor of Slímán, the first Moslim prince of Dár-Fúr. But as for the centre of the empire of the Týnjur, it was overthrown by the founder of the Mohammedan empire of Wáday, viz. 'Abd el Kerím the son of Yáme, — according to tradition, in the year 1020 of the Hejra.

However, of the kings of Wáday I shall not speak here, as their history has not exactly reference

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to the country we are now describing.* Here I will only introduce a few remarks concerning the kings of Bagírmi.

Bagírmi† is said to have emerged from the gloom of paganism prevailing in the eastern regions of Sudán, a considerable time after Western Sudán had been formed into mighty kingdoms — some years subsequent to the introduction of Islám into Wádáy. But in the same manner as the ruling dynasty which gave rise to this new kingdom had come from abroad, so likewise the founders of Bagírmi seem to have immigrated into the country; and from whence they immigrated can scarcely be doubtful, though they themselves, like all the dominating tribes of Sudán, would much rather connect their origin with the inhabitants of Yemen. But, that the native inhabitants of Kénga, Kírsuwa, and Hírla are intimately related to them, they are well aware, and acknowledge it without hesitation; but they would try to make people believe that, in coming from Yemen, their chief Dokkénge left at those places brethren of his as governors. As for

* I shall give a short account of the history of that country, in Appendix VI.

† Thus the name is generally pronounced in the country itself; but it very often sounds like Bagrímmi, and the adjective form is certainly Bágrimma, which often sounds like Barma. The learned men write بَقِرِم and بَكِرِم indifferently, while the Bórnu people write the name Begharmí بَغَرْمِى or Bekármí بَكَارْمِى.

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Hírla, they do not acknowledge its claims to entire equality of birth, but derive the name of that place, as well as the family of the kings of that district, from a slave of Dokkénge of the name of Khér-allah. But, on a close scrutiny, the people of Bagírmi themselves confess that their origin is not to be sought for at a greater distance than Kénga, or Kénga Matáya*, and that this place, distant five days east from Más-eñá and three long days S.S.E. from Yáwó, and distinguished by the strange form of its paganism†, was the original seat of their kings; for not only do the Bagírmaye regard those of Kénga with solemn veneration, as being their ancestors, whom it would be wrong to attack or to endeavour to subdue, but there are also certain emblems which they exhibit on particular occasions, brought, as they say, from Kénga. These consist of a rather long spear, borne on certain occasions before the king of Bagírmi, a small sort of tympanum, and the horn or bugle. The language Kénga is intimately connected with that of Bagírmi, while it contains also some elements of a different character; and these two dialects, together with the language of the Kúka, constitute one idiom.

* From all that I have said here, it appears very doubtful whether the Ibkárem, ابكارم, mentioned by Ebn Sáíd in the latter part of the thirteenth century, can be justly identified with this kingdom. Of course a tribe of this name may have existed many centuries before the foundation of the kingdom. The first undoubted mention of Bagírmi, or Bagharmí, occurs in Imám A'hmed's account of Edrís Alawóma's expeditions to Kánem.

† See collection of itineraries in the Appendix.

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But, to proceed with our principal inquiry, the emigrants, led on by their chief Dokkénge, penetrated, it would seem, towards the west by the road marked by the sites of Hírla, Kírsuwa, and Naíromá—a place situated near Más-eñá, on the Báchikám.

The state of the country where this pagan prince was to found the new kingdom, at the time when this happened (that is to say, about 300 years ago), was as follows. On the spot where the capital now stands, there is said to have been nothing but a straggling settlement of Fúlbe cattle-breeders; and the Bagírmaye themselves state that they named the place from a large árdéb or tamarind-tree ("más" in the Bágrimma language), under which a young Féllani girl of the name of Eñá was selling milk. These Fúlbe (or Felláta, as they are called in all the eastern parts of Sudán) are said to have been much oppressed by annual inroads of the Bulála; and it was Dokkénge who undertook to protect them against these invaders. With the exception of this Felláta settlement, a few Arab or Shúwa tribes*, who at that time had already begun to spread over the country, principally the Bení Hassan, and the solitary settlement of a Felláta sheikh, or holy man, in Bídderí, a place about nine miles east from Más-eñá (who, however isolated he was, nevertheless exercised a very remarkable influence over the introduction of Islamism into these countries), all the rest of its in-

* The fact of the spreading of the Arabs at so early a period, is entirely confirmed by Imám A'hmed's account.

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habitants, as well as the chief Dokkénge himself, were pagans.

In the centre of the country there were four petty kingdoms, all situated on the small branch of the Shárí generally called Báchikám; viz. that of Mátiya, Mábberát, Máriñé, and finally that of Meré or Damré. Dokkénge, installing himself near the spot which was originally called Más-eñá, and forming a small settlement, is said to have subdued these four petty kings by stratagem, and, having driven back the Bulála, to have formed in a short time a considerable dominion. He is reported to have reigned a long time, and to have been succeeded by his brother, of the name of Lubétko, to whom succeeded Delubírni, under whose dominion the kingdom of Bagírmi spread considerably. The eldest son of Delubírni was Maló, who ascended the throne, but was soon after engaged in a desperate struggle with a younger brother of his, named 'Abd-Allah, who, it is said, had been converted to Islamism, and thought himself in consequence better fitted to ascend the throne. After being defeated by Delubírni on one occasion, 'Abd-Allah is said to have vanquished his brother with the assistance of the pagan tribes, and to have slain him after a most sanguinary conflict in the midst of the town, which lasted for several days.

Having thus ascended the throne, and consolidated his dominion by the blood of all his kinsfolk, 'Abd-Allah, the first Moslim prince of Bagírmi, is said to have contributed largely to the prosperity of his country,

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into which he introduced Islamism; and he is stated also to have increased the capital to its present extent. The beginning of his reign falls about ten years after the foundation of the empire of Wáḍáy by 'Abd el Kerím the son of Yáme. As to the order of his successors (all the Moslim kings of Bagírmi numbering fourteen), it seems to be as follows: —

To 'Abd-Allah succeeded, as it seems, Wónja, who was succeeded by his son Láwení, after whom followed Bugománda. Of these princes very little, if anything, appears to be known. But then followed a glorious reign, which marked another epoch in the history of Bagírmi — I mean the reign of the king Mohammed el Amín, who, on account of his having performed a pilgrimage to Mekka, is also called el Háj; for this prince not only administered the government of his country with more justice than his predecessors had done, and made it respected by his neighbours, but he also considerably extended his dominion and sway, as he not only subdued the formerly independent kingdom of Babáliyá, which at a former period had belonged to Kánem, and whose king (of the name of Kábdu) he put to death, but he is stated also to have extended his conquests in the opposite direction as far as Gógomi, a strong and inaccessible settlement, situated seven or eight days' march to the south-east of the capital, which the present sultan succeeded in subduing a second time during my residence in the country, and which was thought a very great achievement. It is even said

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that through the instrumentality of this king a great majority of his countrymen adopted Islamism.

To this praiseworthy prince succeeded his son 'Abd e' Rahmán, whose death can be fixed with approximative certainty, as it is connected with the history of the neighbouring countries; for it was he against whom the sheikh Mohammed el Kánemí solicited the assistance of 'Abd el Kerím Sabún the sultan of Wáday, who died in the year 1815, for his having thrown off the supremacy of Bórnu, which seems to have been established during the reign of Láwení. The easy victory which the energetic and unscrupulous ruler of Wáday, who eagerly grasped at the offer made to him, is said to have gained over the people of Bagírmi, is attributed to the consequences of a severe plague, which had swept away the greater part of the full-grown inhabitants of the country, and to the circumstance of the fácha, or general of the army, not being on good terms with his sovereign, whom he is stated to have deserted in the battle, while he himself fled with his whole detachment. Sabún, after having put to death 'Abd e' Rahmán, together with his favourite wife, or ghúmsu, and having carried away a considerable portion of the population, and all the riches of Bagírmi collected during the period of their power, invested the younger son of 'Abd e' Rahmán, of the name of Mállem Ngarmába Béri, with the title of king. However, as soon as Sabún had retraced his steps, 'Othmán, the eldest son of 'Abd e' Rahmán, with the surname or nickname of Búgomán, who, as long as the king of Wáday was ravaging the country,

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had sought refuge behind the Shárí, in the town of Búgomán (the same place the governor of which refused to receive me), returned home, overcame his younger brother, and, having put out his eyes, ascended the throne.

But the king of Wáday, having received this unfavourable news, once more returned to Bagírmi, vanquished 'Othmán in a battle fought at Moító, drove him out of the country, and reinstated his brother upon the throne. But as soon as Sabún had turned his back, 'Othmán appeared once more, drowned his brother in the river, and again usurped the sovereign power. However, he was not destined to enjoy his prize for a long time in tranquillity; for, a quarrel having broken out between him and the fácha (the same person who had been on bad terms with his father), this man, of the name of Ruwéli, who by his personal character greatly enhanced the power and influence originally united with his authority, and who was supported by a strong party, deprived the sultan of his dominion, and, having driven him out of the country, invested with supreme authority a younger brother of his, called el Háj, who, in order to distinguish him from the former sultan of that name, we may call Háj II. 'Othmán, having fled from Búgomán, his usual place of refuge, to Gulfé the Kótokó town on the west side of the Shárí, where he was collecting a force, the fácha marched against him and vanquished him. 'Othmán, however, having implored the assistance of the sheikh el Kánemí, and being assisted by

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the Shúwa of Bórnu, succeeded in collecting another army, with which he once more returned, but was again beaten in a battle fought at Sháwí. He, however, succeeded in crossing the river by a stratagem, and sought refuge with 'Amanúk, that mighty chief of the Dághana Shúwa well known from Major Denham's adventures; but being pursued by his adversary, he saw no other way of escape open to him than to throw himself into the arms of his former enemy, the king of Wáday, and, in order to obtain his assistance, he found himself compelled to stipulate, and to confirm by an oath sworn on the Kurán, that he and his successors should pay a considerable tribute to the prince of Wáday. This tribute, to be paid every third year, consists of a hundred ordinary male slaves, thirty handsome female slaves, one hundred horses, and a thousand shirts or kholgán, called by the Wáday people "dérketú," besides ten female slaves, four horses, and forty shirts to Zérma or Jérma, who is the inspector of this province.

Having obtained protection in consequence of this treaty, which rendered Bagírmi as much a tributary province of Wáday as it had been, in more ancient times, of Bórnu, 'Othmán returned to his country, and succeeded at length in crushing his powerful and hitherto successful rival, whom he defeated in two battles,—the one fought near Kókoché, on the Báchikám, the other near the village of A'su, on the banks of the river Shárí. The fácha, having sought and found refuge in Logón birni, fought one more battle with 'Othmán near a place called Díndor, where

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a great many of the people of Wádáy who were with him are said to have fallen. But the inhabitants of Logón, fearing that Ruwéli would not be able to fight his quarrel out, and that they themselves might afterwards suffer for having given him protection, thought it more prudent to deliver him into the hands of his enemy, and succeeded in doing so by stratagem. This ambitious man is stated to have died in Wádáy, 'Othmán having delivered him to Sabún.

The restless prince of Bagírmi obtained a little tranquillity as long as Sabún lived; but Yúsuf, who succeeded the latter, dissatisfied with him, put forth another pretender, of the name of Jariñílme, and 'Othmán had scarcely succeeded in overcoming this enemy, which he did without much trouble, when he had to fight in another quarter. For Mohammed el Kánemí, the sheikh of Bórnu (who had assisted him to reascend the throne with the sole object of regaining the ancient supremacy which Bórnu had exercised over Bagírmi), when he became aware that he had not attained his object, commenced open hostilities against him, which gave rise to a struggle carried on for a number of years with equal success on either side, but without any great result, except the ruin of the provinces near their respective frontiers. The sheikh of Bórnu, beset at the time by other difficulties, and seeing that he should be unable by himself to crush the power of Bagírmi, is then said to have called in the aid of Yúsuf Bashá, of Tripoli, who in the year 1818 sent Mústafá el A'hmar, at that time

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sultan of Fezzán, together with Mukní and the sheikh el Barúd, to his assistance, who, laying waste the whole north-western part of Bagírmi, and destroying its most considerable places, Babáliyá and Gáwi, carried away a great number of slaves, among whom was Agíd Músa, one of my principal informants in all that relates to Bagírmi.

This happened about the time of Captain Lyon's expedition. At a later period Mukní returned once more with 'Abd el Jelíl, the celebrated chief of the Welád Slimán, who had accompanied the former expedition in a rather subordinate character; but, having quarrelled with this distinguished chieftain, who discountenanced Mukní's intention of overrunning the country of Bórnu, he himself returned home, sending in his stead Háj I'brahím, who plundered and ransacked the town of Moító, and carried its inhabitants into slavery, while 'Abd el Jelíl did the same with Kánem. Then followed, in the year 1824, the second battle of Ngála, of which Major Denham has given an account in his Narrative. However, notwithstanding his partial success, the sheikh of Bórnu was not able to reduce entirely the inhabitants of Bagírmi, who, although not so numerous, and much inferior to their neighbours in horsemanship, are certainly superior to them in courage.

There was still another quarter from whence Bagírmi was threatened during the restless reign of 'Othmán, namely that of the Fúlbe or Felláta, who, following their instinctive principle of perpetually extending

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their dominion and sway, made an inroad also into Bagírmi about thirty years ago; but they were driven back, and revenge was taken by a successful expedition being made by the Bagírmaye against Bógo, one of the principal Fúlbe settlements to the east of Wándalá or Mándará, which I have mentioned on my journey to A'damáwa and the expedition to Músgu. In the meantime, while the country suffered severely from this uninterrupted course of external and internal warfare, 'Othmán seems to have made an attempt to enter into communication with Kánem, probably in order to open a road to the coast by the assistance of the Welád Slimán, or, as they are called here, Mínne-mínne, who, by a sudden change of circumstances, had been obliged to seek refuge in those very border-districts of Negroland with which their chief 'Abd el Jelíl had become acquainted in the course of his former slave-hunting expeditions.

Altogether 'Othmán Búgomán appears to have been a violent despot, who did not scruple to plunder either strangers or his own people; and he cared so little about any laws, human or divine, that it is credibly asserted that he married his own daughter.* But he appears to have been an energetic man, and at times even generous and liberal. He died in the last month of the year 1260, or about the end of the year 1844 of our era, and was succeeded by his eldest son 'Abd el Káder, the present ruler of Bagírmi,

* According to others he married also his sister. It seems that some attribute similar crimes to his father.

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who had been on bad terms with his father during his lifetime, and in consequence had spent several years in Gúrin, at that time the capital of A'damáwa.

This prince had a narrow escape from a great danger in the first month of his reign, when Mohammed Sáleh, the ruler of Wádáy, advanced with his army towards the west, so that 'Abd el Káder thought it best to leave his capital, carrying with him all his people and riches, and to withdraw towards Mánkhfa, where he is said to have prepared for battle, taking up his position behind the river, and placing all the boats on his wings. But the sultan of Wádáy, seeing that he occupied a strong position, sent him word that he would do him no harm as long as he preserved the allegiance confirmed by the oath of his father; and he really does not seem to have done any damage to the people of Bagírmi, with the exception of depriving them of their dress, the common black shirt, of which the people of Wádáy are very jealous, as they themselves are not acquainted with the art of dyeing.

This danger having passed by, 'Abd el Káder, who is described to me, by all those who have had opportunities of closer intercourse with him, as being a person of sound judgment, and who likes to do justice, though it may be true he is not very liberal, thought it best to keep on good terms also with his western neighbours the Kanúri; and his friendly relations with the present ruler of that country were facilitated by the circumstance that his mother was

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an aunt of the sheikh 'Omár. The Bagírmí people at least assert that it is more on account of this relationship, than from fear, or a feeling of weakness, that their ruler has consented to a sort of tribute to be paid to Bórnu, which consists of a hundred slaves annually.

Having thus obtained peace with both his neighbours, 'Abd el Káder has employed his reign in strengthening himself on that side which alone remained open to him, viz. the south side, towards the pagan countries; and he has successfully extended his dominion, remaining in the field personally for several months every year. He has thus subdued a great many pagan chiefs, on whom he levies a fixed tribute,—a thing said to have been unknown before his time. Of course this tribute consists almost entirely in slaves, which the pagan chiefs in general can only procure by waging war with their neighbours, and slaves are therefore almost the only riches of the sultan; but by this means he is able to procure what he is most in need of, namely horses and muskets, besides articles of luxury.

It is only with a strong feeling of suppressed indignation that the people of Bagírmi bear the sort of dependence in which they are placed with regard to their neighbours on either side; and there is no doubt that, if they are allowed to recruit their strength (although the tribute which they have to pay to Wáday bears heavily upon them), they will make use of the first opportunity that offers to throw off the yoke.

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No doubt the central position of Bagírmi, as regards political independence, is not very favourable; but the country has the great advantage of being bordered on the west side by a mighty river, which, while it forms a natural barrier against the western neighbour, may serve at the same time as a safe retreat in case of an attack from the powerful kingdom on the east side: and it has proved so repeatedly, for Bagírmi in many places extends westward beyond that river. This is the only advantage which the country at present derives from the great bounty which nature has bestowed upon it *, viz. a river navigable during every season of the year, surrounding half the extent of the country, and sending through the middle of it a branch, the Báchikám, which is navigable during the greater part of the year, and might easily be made so all the year round. This branch, which approaches to within nine or ten miles of the capital, forms part of the southern provinces into an island. The great disadvantage of Bagírmi is, that there is no direct caravan-road to the northern coast, and that it is therefore dependent, for its supply of European and Arab manufactures, upon the limited importation by the circuitous road through Wáday or Bórnu; consequently the price of the merchandise is greatly enhanced, while the road, in case of hostilities with these latter kingdoms, is entirely interrupted.

* I must observe, however, that boats of the Kaleáma, or islanders of the southern part of the Tsád, sometimes carry corn as far as Búgomán.

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If we now take a general view of the country, we find that in its present state it is inclosed within very narrow limits, extending in its greatest length, from north to south, to about 240 miles, while its breadth at the widest part scarcely exceeds 150 miles. Such a petty kingdom would be quite incapable of holding out against its two powerful neighbours if it were not for the resources drawn continually from the pagan countries towards the south.

This was the reason why the kingdom of the Bulála, or Leo's Gaoga, rose to such immense power as soon as it had taken possession of Kánem. The people of Bagírmi themselves in former times, evidently after the zenith of the Bórnu kingdom had passed away, and when the weak dominion of devout but indolent kings succeeded to the dashing career of energetic and enterprising princes, provided themselves with what they wanted in this respect in a rather unceremonious manner, by making constant predatory expeditions upon the caravan-road from Fezzán to Bórnu, and carrying away a great amount of property, even a large supply of silver, — this being said to have been the source from whence the treasure which 'Abd el Kerím Sabún king of Wádáy found in Máseñá was derived. In another direction they formerly extended their excursions into the Bátta and Marghí country.

The whole country, as far as it constitutes Bagírmi Proper, forms a flat level, with a very slight inclination towards the north, the general elevation of the country being about 950 feet above the level of the

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sea; only in the northernmost part of the country, north from a line drawn through Moító, there are detached hills or mountains, which constitute the water-parting between the Fittrí and the Tsád, the two basins having no connection whatever with each other. But while Bagírmi Proper appears to be a rather flat country, the outlying provinces to the south-east seem to be rather mountainous, the mountains, particularly the group called Gére, being so high that the cold is felt very severely, and hail or snow falls occasionally during the cold months. From the information of the natives, particularly when we take into consideration the description given of Belél Kolé, it would seem that in that direction there are some volcanic mountains. Towards the south also there must be considerable mountains which give rise to the three rivers, the Bénuwé, the Shári, and the river of Logón, and probably several more; but they must be at a great distance, and lie entirely beyond the range of my information. However, I am sure that there is no idea of perpetual snow, or even snow remaining for any length of time, in this part of the continent; and there seems to be no necessity whatever for supposing such a thing, as the fall of rain near the equator is fully sufficient to feed numbers of perennial sources, and to increase the volume of the rivers to such an extent as to annually overflow the country in so astonishing a manner. The time of the inundation of those three rivers seems to coincide exactly, while with regard to the currents, that of the river of Logón appears to be the most rapid.

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The soil consists partly of lime ("añé") and partly of sand ("síñaka"), and accordingly produces either Negro millet (*Pennisetum*, "chéngo") or sorghum ("wá"), which two species of grain, with their different varieties, form the chief article of food not only of the people of Bagírmi, but almost all over Negroland. But besides this, a great deal of sesamum ("kárru"), is cultivated, which branch of cultivation imparts quite a different aspect to this country, as well as to many of the pagan countries, as numerous tribes seem to subsist chiefly upon this article. In many other districts of Bagírmi, beans ("móngo") form one of the chief articles of food, but ground-nuts, or "búli," seem to be cultivated only to a very small extent.

Wheat is not cultivated at all, with the exception of a small patch in the interior of the capital, for the private use of the sultan. Rice is not cultivated, but collected, in great quantities after the rains, in the forest, where it grows in the swamps and temporary ponds; indeed a good dish of rice, with plenty of butter and meat, forms one of the few culinary luxuries which I have observed in Bagírmi. Another article of food in very general use, is afforded by several varieties of grass or *Poa*, identical, I think, with the *Poa Abyssinica*, here called "chénna" by the black, and "kréb" by the red natives (I mean the Shúwa). The variety most common in Bagírmi is called "jójó," and is not only eaten by the poor people, but even by the rich; indeed I myself am fully able to speak from experience concerning it, as, with

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the addition of a little rice, I subsisted on it almost entirely during my long stay in this country, and found it very palatable when prepared with plenty of butter, or even boiled in milk. Of course it is a light food, and, while it does not cause indigestion, it does not satisfy the appetite for a long time, or impart much superfluous strength. As regards vegetables, molukhíya ("goñérmo," *Corchorius olitorius*) and derába or bámiya ("gobálto" and "géddegír") are mostly in use, besides the "góngo," the leaves of the monkey-bread tree ("kúka"), and occasionally that of the hájilíj ("jánga"), which form the common palaver-sauce of the poor. Water-melons ("gérlaka"?) also are grown to some extent, and that sort of *Cucurbita* called *melopepo* ("kúrchi"?), which I have mentioned on a former occasion. Inside the capital a great many onions ("bassal") are cultivated, but not so much for the use of the natives as of the strangers who visit the place.

Of articles of industry, cotton ("nyére") and indigo ("alíní") are grown to a sufficient extent to supply the wants of the natives; but both articles are chiefly cultivated by the Bórnu people who have immigrated into this country.

The soil in general seems to be of a good quality; but, as I have said above, the country suffers greatly from drought, and ants and worms contribute in a large measure to frustrate the exertions of the husbandman. Of the trees most common in the country, and most useful to mankind, I have principally to

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mention the tamarind-tree, or "árdéb," called "más" by the people of Bagírmi, — a tree as useful for its fruit, as it is beautiful on account of its foliage. The tamarind-fruit, in my opinion, constitutes the best and surest remedy for a variety of diseases, on account of its refreshing and cooling character. Next in order is the deléb-palm, here called "káwe," which is very common in several parts of the country, although far more so in the outlying provinces towards the south; the dúm-palm ("kolóngo"), which, although not so frequent, is nevertheless found in considerable numbers in many parts of the country; the hájilíj, or *Balanites Ægyptiaca* ("jánga"), of which not only the fruit is eaten, but the leaves also are used as vegetables, like those of the monkey-bread tree — the latter does not seem to be very frequent; the kórna or *Cornus* ("kírna"), and the sycamore ("bíli"). Many trees very common in Háusa, such as the kadéña, or *Bassia Parkii*, and the dorówa (*Parkia*), are never seen here, at least not in those districts which I visited; but *Croton tiglium* ("habb el melúk") is frequent, and I myself took a supply of this powerful purgative with me on my return from this country.

There are no mines. Even the iron is brought from the exterior provinces, especially a place called Gúrgara, distant from twenty to twenty-five miles from the river, where the sandstone seems to contain a great deal of iron ore. Natron is brought from the Bahr el Ghazál.

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With regard to the special features of the country, and the topography of the towns and villages, they will be described in a separate chapter*; here I will only say that the entire population of the country seems scarcely to exceed a million and a half, and the whole military force, in the present reduced state of the kingdom, can hardly be more than 3000 horse, and 10,000 foot, including the Shúwa population, who surpass the black natives in breeding horses, while the cavalry of Wáday may be most correctly estimated at from 5000 to 6000, and that of Dár-Fúr at more than 10,000. The weapon most in use among them is the spear ("nyíga"),—the bow ("ká-kesé") and arrow ("kesé") being rare, not only with the inhabitants of Bagírmi Proper, but even with those of the pagan states to the south. Scarcely a single person has a shield; and they therefore use only the Kanúri name for this arm, viz. "ngáwa." Very few possess the more valuable coat of mail, or "súllug;" and I scarcely observed a single fire-arm during my stay. But, on the other hand, almost all the pagan inhabitants of these regions are armed with that sort of weapon found in so many other countries which we have touched on our journey, viz. the hand-bill, or, as the Kanúri call it, the "góliyó" (here called "njíga," the difference between the name of this weapon and that of the spear consisting in one single letter). Very few of the Bagírmi people are wealthy

* See Appendix VII.

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enough to purchase swords ("káskara"), which they are not able to manufacture themselves; and few even wear that sort of dagger ("kiyá") on the left arm, which, in imitation of the Tawárek, has been introduced into a great part of Negroland.

As for their physical features, I have already touched on this subject repeatedly. I will only say that they are a fine race of people, distinct from the Kanúri, but intimately related, as their language shows, to the tribe of the Kúka and several other tribes to the east. Their language they themselves call "tar Bágrimma." Their adoption of Islám is very recent; and the greater part of them may, even at the present day, with more justice be called pagans than Mohammedans. They possess very little learning, only a few natives, who have performed the pilgrimage, being well versed in Arabic, such as Bú-Bakr Sadík; but not a single individual possesses any learning of a wider range. This exists only among the Felláta, or foreigners from Wáday. The only industrial arts in which they have made a little progress are those of dyeing and weaving, both of which they have also introduced into the kingdom of Wáday, although in their own country a great deal of the weaving and dyeing is carried on by Kanúri people. Black tobes are worn by the men to a much greater extent than in Bórnu, even the bólne or túrkedi, which generally forms the only dress of the females, as well as the upper garment or "debdaléna," being dyed black. Tight shirts, or tarkíji, which in

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Wáday constitute the common female dress, are very rarely worn.

The government of the country is an absolute monarchy, being not tempered, as it seems, by an aristocratical element, such as we have found in Bórnu, nor even by such an assembly as we have met with in the Háusa states. The duties of the chief offices of state are, it appears, by no means distinctly defined, and are therefore left to the discretion or abuse of each official, as we have seen that the fácha under the reign of 'Othmán had assumed such a degree of power that he was capable of waging successful war for a long time against the king himself.

The title of the king is "bánga." The office of the "fácha" corresponds exactly with that of the "keghámma" in Bórnu. Then follows the office of the "ngarmáne," or the minister of the royal household; then that of the "ghelétma"—a name which has originated in a corruption of the title "ghaladíma." Next comes the "gar-moyenmánge," the governor of the open pasture-grounds and forests; after him the "mílma," whose office is said to have been introduced from Bórnu, to whom succeed the "gar-ngóde," the "gar-ngínge," the "zérma," and the "kadamánge," the latter having originally the tutorship of the sons of the king. But besides these, the captains, or "bárma," and the governors of the principal places, possess considerable power; and among the latter, especially the elífa Moító, or go-

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vernor of Moító, while the officer of the water also, or elífa bá, exercises a great deal of authority. Of these courtiers, the following have the privilege of using a carpet to sit upon: — the fácha, the bárma, the ghelétma, the mílma, the gar-moyenmánge, the bang Busó, bang Dam, elífa Moító, and elífa bá. We have seen that the sultan, during his absence from the capital, had made one of the meanest of his courtiers, the kadamánge, his lieutenant-governor.

The mother of the sultan, or the "kuñ-bánga," is greatly respected, but without possessing such paramount authority as we have seen to have been the case with the "mágira" in Bórnu, and as we shall find exercised by the móma in Wáday. The claimant to the throne, who bears here the same title as in Bórnu, viz. chiróma, enjoys a certain degree of influence, the limits of which are not circumscribed, but depend upon his natural qualifications.

Although the sultan has here so different a title from that of the king of Bórnu, nevertheless the princesses bear the same title as those of Bórnu, viz. "méram," a name which has even extended into the country of Wáday.

As for the tribute which the king levies, and which is called "hadén-bánga," the circumstances connected with my stay in the country did not allow me to arrive at a definite conclusion with regard to its amount; and I can only make a few general remarks upon it. The tribute levied upon the Mohammedan inhabitants of Bagírmi Proper consists principally in

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two different kinds, viz. in corn and cotton strips. The tribute in corn, which corresponds to the tsídirám maibe in Bórnu and the kúrdi-n-kassa in Háusa, is here called mótten-bánga, or, as it is generally pronounced, mótten-bánki, while the tribute in cotton strips bears the name "fárda-n-bánga." But many places have to deliver also a tribute in butter, although the Shúwa, or, as they are here called, Shíwa, (the native Arabs) are the principal purveyors of this article to the court.

The Shíwa of Bagírmi belong principally to the following tribes: — Sálamát, Bení Hassan, Welád Músa (a very warlike tribe), Welád 'Alí, the Deghághera, — who live scattered over the whole country, but occupy some villages almost exclusively for themselves. The principal tribute which these Arabs have to pay consists of cattle, and is called "jéngal;" it is very considerable. But whether these Arabs of Bagírmi, like those settled in Bórnu, have also to deliver to the king all the male horses, I am not quite sure; however, I think that is the case.

The most considerable tribute, however, which the sultan levies consists of slaves, which the tributary pagan provinces have to pay to him, — especially the chiefs of Miltú, Dam, Sómray, and all the others of whose territories and power we obtain some information from the itineraries I have collected.* This tribute of slaves constitutes the strength and riches of the king of Bagírmi, who is always endeavouring to extend his sway over the neighbouring pagan tribes.

* See Appendix IX.

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The natives of Bagírmi are compelled to show to their sovereign a considerable degree of servile reverence; and when they approach him they are obliged not only to be bareheaded, but also to draw their shirt from the left shoulder, and to sprinkle dust on their heads. But they are not in general oppressed; and a far greater liberty of speech is allowed than in many European states.

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CHAP. LII.

HOME-JOURNEY TO KÚKAWA.—DEATH OF MR. OVERWEG.

August 10th. ALTHOUGH I had once cherished the idea of penetrating towards the upper course of the Nile, I was glad when I turned my face westward, as I had since convinced myself that such an enterprise was not possible under the present circumstances. I had been so many times deceived by the promise of my final departure, that when in the morning of that day a messenger from the zérma arrived with the news that I might get ready my luggage, I did not believe him, and would not stir till Zérma himself made his appearance and confirmed the news, assuring me that I should find the letter of the sultan, with regard to my security on a future visit, with Máina Sabún.

In consequence I ordered my servants to get my luggage ready; but before I started I received a visit from a large number of courtiers, with an agíd at their head, in order to bid me farewell, and also to entreat me for the last time to sell to the sultan my fine "kerí-sassarándi" (horse). But this I was obliged to refuse, stating that I wanted my horse for myself,

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and that I had not come to their country as a merchant, but as a messenger. It had always been a subject of great annoyance to them that I refused to sell my horse, as all the people who visit this country from the other side of Bórnu are in the habit of bringing horses with them expressly for sale. They revenged themselves, therefore, by giving me another nick-name, as an ambitious and overbearing man, — "dérbaki ngólo." But I would not have parted with the companion of my toils and dangers for all the treasures in the world, although it had its faults, and was certainly not then in the best condition. I had some foreboding that it might still be a useful companion on many an excursion; and it was in reality still to carry me for more than two years, and was to excite the envy both of my friends and enemies in Timbúktu as it had done here.

Having received the letter of the sultan, with the contents of which I could not but express myself highly satisfied*, I set fairly out on my journey; and my heart bounded with delight when, gaining the western gate, I entered the open country, and once more found myself at liberty.

The whole country was adorned with the most beautiful verdure, the richest pasture-grounds and fine corn-fields alternately succeeding each other; but as for the crop, the height which it had attained in the different fields varied greatly, — it being in

* I sent this letter, with the sultan's seal, to the Foreign Office at the time.

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one field as high as five feet, and the seed just coming out, while in another field, close by, the young crop was only shooting out of the ground. This was in consequence of no rain having fallen in the beginning of the season for nearly a month, a circumstance which had deterred many people from confiding their seed to the ground. Further on, there was much cultivation of beans.

Having now no necessity for laying down the path, with which I was sufficiently acquainted, I could surrender myself entirely to the general impression of the landscape, the whole aspect of the country being greatly changed. Beyond the Felláta village which I have mentioned on my outward journey, we had to cross an extensive sheet of water, and the ground was often very difficult to pass with my camel; so that we were full of anxiety with regard to the swampy country of Logón. Indeed the people who met us on the road did not fail to warn us that this was not the right animal for this season of the year; and there is no doubt that pack-oxen, on account of their sure-footedness, have a great advantage in travelling during this part of the year, though they are difficult to get across the rivers.

We arrived at the well-known village of Bákadá just in time to escape a heavy tempest, which continued with slight interruption the whole of the afternoon; but not finding my former host at home, I took possession of his hut on my own responsibility, and I afterwards calmed the anger of my good old

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friend, whose hospitality was so often claimed by all the passers-by on this great highroad, by presenting him with two fine white shirts. In fact I sympathized with him very heartily, seeing that the whole host of people who had attached themselves to my troop importuned him for shelter during our stay here the following day, although I might have expected that he would have extended his hospitality to myself for a day longer, as we were to part for ever, and as it was against my wish that I was delayed here. But such is the character of the Bagírmi people in their present reduced political and moral condition.

My companions were not yet quite ready. It rained the greater part of the following night; I had some trouble in making my people stir in the morning, and was really obliged to employ force in order to get our troop once more in motion. A European can form no idea how the energy of a traveller is paralyzed in these regions by the laziness of the natives.

At length we were on our road, and after a moderate march took up our quarters in Kólle-kólle. The quantity of rain which had fallen gave the country a very rich and exuberant appearance. Everywhere on the fields the long black worm called "halwési," which causes so much damage to the crops, was seen in extraordinary numbers. It was scarcely possible to recognize the villages, the whole appearance of which, from every side, we had been well acquainted with during the dry season, the

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tall crops now concealing the cottages entirely from view. The following day we reached Kókoroché, having fortunately crossed a very difficult bog without any accident. The whole forest-region, which did not contain a drop of water on my out-journey, was now converted into a continuous line of swamps; and the whole surface was thickly covered with verdure. It is during this season that the Shúwa Arabs form here their temporary encampments.

In Kókoroché also we had another day's delay, till the messenger of the sultan arrived who was to protect me against any further intrigues of the ferrymen, whom I regarded with more suspicion than any policeman or constable in Europe. Meanwhile also the wife of Gréma 'Abdú, who all this time had been staying with her father-in-law in Mústafají, joined us, and all further delay seemed to be at an end. Certainly such a visit of a married woman to her father's house cannot but contribute to give to Europeans a higher opinion of African domestic life. Indeed people in Europe have little conception how cheerfully man and wife in these regions live together; and it was this amiable feature in his character which reconciled me in some degree to my companion, whom in other respects I greatly disliked.

August 15th. There had been a great deal of rain in the afternoon of the preceding day; and a heavy shower which came on in the morning, and lasted full two hours, delayed our departure consi-

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derably. The distance which separated us from the river was not great; but the latter part of the journey was so bad that my camel threw off its load no less than six times, so that my servants were almost in despair, and did not join me till several hours after my arrival in the town of A'su, and when I had made myself already comfortable in an excellent hut, built of clay, neatly polished, but from which I felt sorry to have driven away two spinsters, who had been its tenants.

Having rested awhile, I went to obtain a sight of the river. Its magnitude had already surprised me, when I first saw it on coming from Logón, and it had delighted me as often as I looked down upon it from the village of Mélé; but it was now greatly increased in size, forming a broad sheet of water not less than one thousand yards across, and dotted with several little islands, while the high and gradually-shelving shore on this side was clothed with rich crops of Egyptian corn or masr (*Zea Maïs*). Several small canoes, or rather boats, were lying on the shore; but I looked in vain for one large enough to carry my camel, as I was really afraid to trust it to the stream. However, I was glad to observe that the current was not very strong; and it did not seem to me to flow faster than from about two and a half to three English miles an hour. Unfortunately, to-day also the weather was very wet, so that strolling about was not so pleasant as it would otherwise have been.

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A'su was formerly a walled town; but the walls at present exhibit the same signs of decay which characterize the whole country. However, the inhabitants, to whom the ferry is a constant source of profit, seemed to be tolerably at their ease. It is this village (which formerly appears to have been of much greater importance) after which the river is sometimes called the river *of* A'su; but it ought never to be called the river A'su. Here also there is an officer or inspector of the ferry, with the title of kashélla *, the same as in the village of Mélé.

Saturday, August 14th. We had first to follow the bank of the stream for a little more than a mile lower down, in order to reach the flat sandy beach which I have mentioned above. At length, after a good deal of delay, the boats were brought, and the passage began. Our horses went first, three or four swimming alongside each boat; but it was a difficult affair for the men who were sitting in the boats to manage them, and notwithstanding all their exertions, and all the cries of those who were standing on the bank, several of them were washed away from the boats, and carried a considerable distance down the river by the current: one, a fine black horse, was drowned. It was the very latest period when the river is passable for horses; for during the whole of the month of September, the people assured me

* Kashélla is properly a Bórnu title; but it is in general use in these places along the western frontier.

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that the passage was never attempted. I myself succeeded in crossing the river, with my horse and luggage, without any accident; and having fired a shot, in order to express my satisfaction at having safely escaped from the hands of the superstitious Bagírmi people, I pursued my march without delay, for I was afraid of exposing my horse to the pernicious stings of the "tsetse" fly, which, as I have observed before, proves extremely dangerous to the animal, but which fortunately infests only the very banks of this river, for I have observed it nowhere else. It is a large yellow species.

I had now entered again upon the territory of my friend Yúsuf the prince of Logón, and could, without any danger of molestation, freely move about. The weather was very wet; and I twice took refuge in small villages, which were situated in the midst of rich corn-fields, in order to escape a heavy shower. The whole district is called Mókoró, and comprises, besides several villages of lógodé Logón, or people of Logon, ten hamlets of Shúwa, in one of which we took up our quarters. These Shúwa, however, are not distinguished for hospitality; and it required a great deal of negotiation before I was allowed to make myself comfortable in one of these huts, which are very spacious indeed for these countries, being from 50 to 60 feet in diameter: they have besides a very remarkable peculiarity, being furnished with a large bed-room, if I may say so, which occupies the middle of the hut, and consists of a room raised about three

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feet from the ground, twenty feet long by six to eight feet wide, and the same in height, separated into several compartments, and encompassed all round with mattings of latticework made of fine reeds, in which branch of industry, as I have before observed, the people of Logón are very clever. The matting is of dark colour; but upon my inquiring how they dyed it, I was not a little surprised to hear that it is done by dipping it into the black argillaceous soil. In this secluded room, which is called "ghurára," these people protect themselves against the innumerable swarms of mosquitoes which infest these low swampy regions during the night.

Of course, I could not have any pretensions to this distinguished place, which is reserved for the different members of the family; and I took my station upon a raised platform of clay at the side of the entrance, where I was a little annoyed by the mosquitoes, although, the door having been shut at an early hour, and some cattle inside the hut attracting the attention of this cruel insect in a stronger degree, the numbers were supportable. In other respects I was well treated, the landlord being a wealthy man, of the name of A'dim, and his wife being even a princess or méram of Logón; she was a talkative and cheerful person. They regaled me with a small pancake soon after my arrival, and a dish of rice and milk in the evening. It was extremely interesting to witness the singular kind of living of these people, and to hear them talk their peculiar style of Arabic, which has

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not yet lost that profusion of vowels which originally characterized this language; but its purity has been greatly impaired by other peculiarities. They have some remarkable customs which connect them with their brethren in the East,—especially the law of retaliation, or e' dhíye* and the *infibulatio* of the young girls. These Arabs belong to the large tribe of the Sálamát.

After a march of about eight miles, through a country partly cultivated with Negro millet, partly forming an extensive swampy plain, we reached the river of Logón. On account of the great rising of the river, we had been obliged to follow, this time, an entirely different path from the one we had pursued on our outward journey. The scenery was greatly changed; and the little hollow which we had formerly crossed close behind our landing-place had now become a navigable branch of the river, on which several boats of considerable size were seen plying to and fro. The whole river now presented a very extensive sheet of water, unbroken by any sandbanks or islands, which, while it certainly was exceeded in breadth by the river Shárí, surpassed it in its turn in swiftness, the current being evidently more than three and a half miles an hour. Sunday, August 15th.

* With regard to this custom, Burkhardt's information (*Travels in Nubia*, 2nd ed. Appendix I. p. 434.) is very correct; but in general his information respecting the countries on the east side of the Tsád is marred with mistakes, not only with regard to the geography, but even the ethnology of these quarters, as he always confounds native and Arab tribes.

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The town of Logón with its palm-trees, of three different varieties, towering over the clay walls, invited me to its hospitable quarters; and as I was extremely anxious to reach Kúkawa without any further delay, I immediately crossed over (after having made a small sketch, which is represented in the accompanying plate), in order that I might be able to pursue my journey the following day; but upon paying a visit to the keghámma, I had great difficulty in persuading him to allow me to proceed, and at first he peremptorily refused to comply with my wish, saying that it would be dishonourable for his master to allow me to leave him empty-handed. But I chose rather to forego the opportunity of taking final leave of the prince Yúsuf, although I could not but feel sorry at not being able to wait till my hospitable host had prepared a few tobes for me, as specimens of the native manufacture.

It rained during the night and the following morning, and we had a difficult march through the deep swampy grounds of Logón; but we proceeded onwards till three o'clock in the afternoon, when we made a halt about three quarters of a mile beyond U'lluf or Húlluf, the town before mentioned, the magic arts of whose people frightened my companions also this time, and prevented them from seeking shelter there. However, even in the village where we stopped we were badly received at first; and it was only by force that my companions could procure quarters, till I succeeded gradually in opening friendly relations with the man who had become my host so much against

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his will. I even, with the aid of a few of the large beads called nejúm, succeeded in buying fowls, milk, and corn, so that we were pretty much at our ease. The neighbourhood is said to be greatly infested with thieves; and we therefore took all necessary precautions.

The following day I made A'fadé, passing by Kala, where I was surprised to find the swamp at present of much smaller dimensions than on my former journey, although the season was so far advanced. This is a very remarkable phenomenon, which receives its explanation from the circumstance that these swamps are fed by the inundations of the river, which, notwithstanding the rainy season, continue to recede till the river is again full, and once more inundates the country, in the month of September. The latter part of the road to A'fadé was very swampy, almost the whole of that bleak kabé tract being under water. Here my companions endeavoured by all sorts of intrigues to detain me for a day or two, but, notwithstanding the hospitable treatment which I received from the governor of the place, I was too anxious to reach Kúkawa; and, ordering my servants to follow me as speedily as possible, I pursued my march the following morning without delay. But the roads were excessively bad, and we were obliged to take quite a different direction from the one by which we came, following a more northerly one in order to avoid the impassable swamps of the town of Rén, and the very difficult road of Ngála.

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Having passed several larger or smaller villages, and innumerable swamps, we halted for the night, after a march of eleven hours, in a village inhabited by Shúwa and Felláta, and called Wángara, a name which is rather remarkable; but it required a long negotiation in order to obtain quarters, as these people, who rely upon the strongholds afforded them by the swampy neighbourhood of the lake, are of a very independent character. But having once made their acquaintance, we were hospitably treated. The bíllama of the village was a Tynjurawi, who had emigrated to this place from Móndo; but he did not understand the peculiar idiom of his tribe.

During my next day's march, I led rather an amphibious life, being almost as much in the water as on the dry ground; for, besides being drenched by a heavy rain, which lasted the greater part of the day, I had to pass three considerable rivulets without the aid of a boat, and had twice to strip myself and swim my horse across, tying clothes and saddle on my head. The first rivulet we had to cross was the Múlu, about seven hundred yards beyond the small town called Legári, which belongs to Kashélla Belál; the second was probably the Mbulú, and identical with the river called Gumbalaram by Major Denham, beyond the village of Dágala, which lies on a small eminence. At the Múlu we had enjoyed the assistance of the inhabitants of Legári; but here I and my màllem, with whom I had vigorously pushed on in advance, were left to our own

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resources, and the strong current of the rivulet, which was encompassed by steep banks about eight feet high, frightened my companion not a little, till I stripped first, and, relying upon my experience as a swimmer, led the way. While endeavouring to cross over, we were fortunate enough to meet with a fisherman, who was floating about the river on a simple yoke of large gourds, such as I have described on a former occasion; and with his assistance we succeeded in getting our horses and clothes across without any accident. While engaged in this arduous business, we were joined by Gréma 'Abdú, who, seeing that I was obstinate, and ashamed at not arriving in the capital together with us, had at length left his wife and slaves behind, and endeavoured to keep up with us. We then continued our march through this swampy country, the rain falling in torrents, and near the village Hokkum reached the third rivulet, which however, notwithstanding its rapidity, we were able to cross without dismounting, the water just reaching up to our saddles.

At length we left behind us the black argillaceous soil which constitutes the whole of this alluvial plain, and which at the present season was converted into one continuous swamp, fine sandy soil succeeding to it near the village of Gujári, so that from thence we pursued our march more cheerfully; and having taken a small luncheon in the village Débuwa, we did not halt until we reached the village of Bogheówa, situated about a mile N.E. from Yédi. Here we were well

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lodged and hospitably treated, and were busy till late at night drying our wet clothes.

Friday, August 20th. We had now only one long day's march to Kúkawa; and, reaching the town of Ngórnu after six hours' ride, I had great trouble in dragging on my horsemen, who being quite exhausted, wanted to make themselves comfortable with their friends, for the Bórnu men of the present day are not accustomed to much fatigue. Indeed both my companions were so utterly prostrated, in mind and body, that, strange to say, they lost their road close to the capital, although certainly the high corn-fields gave the country a totally different appearance. The great pond of Kaine was now larger than I had ever seen it, and flooded the path to a great extent.

Having sent on a man in advance, in order to announce my arrival to the vizier and Mr. Overweg, I made a short halt near one of the many pools of stagnant water; and we were just about to remount when my friend came galloping up. We were both extremely glad to see each other again, having been separated from one another longer than on any former occasion; and they had received in Kúkawa very alarming news about my reception in Bagírmi. Mr. Overweg had made, meanwhile, a very interesting trip into the south-western mountainous districts of Bórnu; he had returned from thence about two months previously; and I was surprised to find that, notwithstanding the long repose which he had enjoyed, he looked more weak and exhausted than I

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had ever seen him. But he informed me that since his return he had been very ailing, and that even at present he did not feel quite recovered. He gave me a very lively and encouraging description of the means which had been placed at my disposal; and with the most spirited projects for the future we entered the town. Here I once more found myself in my old quarters, with luxuries at my command which during the last six months had become almost strange to me,—such as coffee with sugar, and tea with milk and sugar.

It was very fortunate that I had not arrived half a day later; for the caravan as well as the courier had gone, and not less than four days had passed since the departure of the latter, so that the people declared that it was not possible to send my letters after him. But the vizier, upon whom I called early the next morning, and who received me with great kindness, gave me three horsemen, who, he said, would overtake the courier; and as I had fortunately answered my letters and despatches in Bagírmi, I had only to make up my parcel: but the horsemen did not overtake the courier till he had got forty miles beyond Ngégimi, in the very heart of the desert. My servants did not arrive until the evening of the following day; and they were in rather a sorry plight, having had great difficulty with my camel and luggage.

We had a very important private audience with the sheikh, when, after the usual compliments were passed, I endeavoured to give him a Monday, August 23rd.

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clear description of the present relations of the expedition; for, when he expressed his wish that I might be appointed by Her Majesty as a consul, I declared to him that that could not be, but that it was my business to explore unknown countries, to open intercourse with them, and afterwards to return to my native country; that it was the most ardent desire of Her Majesty's government to enter into the most friendly relations with Bórnu, but that our scientific mission extended far beyond that country. And I further explained to him that Government, in their last despatches, had expressed their wish that if we should ascertain the impossibility of penetrating in a southerly or easterly direction, we might turn westward and endeavour to reach Timbúktu.

This statement seemed to gratify him extremely, as he was afraid of nothing more than that we might go to Wádáy, and enter into friendly relations with the sultan of that country. It is from this point of view that I am quite sure that the vizier at least had done nothing to ensure me a good reception in Bagírmi, if not the contrary. However, the sultan declared that, as he was greatly pleased at our desire to try our fortune in a westerly direction, he should not prevent us, even if we wanted to go to Wádáy, as it was stipulated expressly in the treaty that Her Britannic Majesty's subjects might go wherever they pleased, — although it was not until a few days later that he actually signed the treaty, after numerous delays and evasions. I, however, expressed my wish

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that, before we left the country, circumstances might allow us to complete the survey and exploration of the Tsád, which was both our own wish and that of the British government. Our addresses and our presents having been received with equal affability, we took a hearty leave, and returned home. On the last day of August the sultan signed the treaty, expressing moreover the hope that, if merchants should actually visit the country in quest of other merchandise than slaves, the slave-trade might be gradually abolished.

I was now enabled to arrange all our money matters, which were in a very confused and desperate state; for, besides the large debt due to the merchant Mohammed e' Sfáksi, we were indebted to the vizier alone for 500 Spanish dollars. Not being able to satisfy all our creditors with ready money, there having been sent only 1050 dollars in cash, I arranged with the merchant, giving him 200 dollars in cash, and a bill for 1500 dollars on Fezzán, while I paid all the smaller debts, as well as that of the vizier. Indeed we might now have been able to achieve a great deal, if it had been our destiny to remain together — for in the beginning almost all our efforts were paralyzed by the smallness of our means, which did not allow us to undertake anything on a large scale; but it was our destiny, that, when sufficient supplies had arrived, one of us should succumb.

I have already observed that, when on my return I met my companion before the gates of the capital, I was surprised at his exhausted appearance; and

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I was sorry to find that my first impression was confirmed by what I observed afterwards. As he himself was anxious for a little change of air, and as it was entirely in accordance with our object of exploring the lake, to observe the state of the komádugu at this season, while it was not possible at present to enter upon any great undertaking, we agreed that he should make a small trip to the lower part of the river; and he left accordingly for A'jiri on the 29th of August, in company with a small grandee or kókana, to whom the place belonged, a short distance westward from the district of Dúchi. I accompanied him about as far as the village of Dáwerghú; and we separated with a firm hope that the excursion would do him a great deal of good—and he really enjoyed extremely the rich vegetation of the komádugu, which at this time of the year, during the rising of the river, was in its full vigour. He learnt, by inquiry from the natives, the very interesting fact that the water in the komádugu, which during the dry season is limited to detached pools of stagnant water, begins to form a continuous stream of water eastward towards the Tsád on the 21st or 22nd July, and continues running for about seven months; that is to say, till about the middle of February. It begins to overflow its banks in the month of November. But, although my companion took great interest in the objects around him, he could not have felt very strong, as the notes which he wrote during this excursion are extremely short and unsatisfactory, while it would have been of importance if he had been able to lay

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down the course of the river with tolerable exactitude. Moreover, in his feeble condition, he committed the mistake of forcing his last day's march in returning to Kúkawa, on the 13th September; and I was sorry to observe, when we supped together that evening, that his appetite greatly failed him.

Being fully aware of the unhealthiness of the climate during the month of September, we agreed by common consent to keep moving about as much as possible, and to take a ride every day to some distance. It was on this account that we arranged a visit to Dáwerghú on Sunday the 20th; but, unfortunately, some business which we had to transact prevented our setting out at an early hour in the morning, and, my friend's head being that day rather affected, I proposed to him putting off our excursion till another day; but he thought that the fresh air might do him good. We therefore started in the heat of the day, although the sun was not very bright, while my companion did not neglect to protect his head as well as possible from the rays of the sun.

Having refreshed ourselves in the cool shade of a fine hájilíj, Mr. Overweg thought himself strong enough to go about shooting, and was so imprudent as to enter deep water in pursuit of some waterfowl, and to remain in his wet clothes all the day without saying a word; and I only became aware of this fact late in the evening, after we had returned to the town, when he dried his wet clothes at the fire.

Although he had been moving about the whole day, he was not able to enjoy our simple supper;

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but he did not complain. However, the next morning he felt so weak that he was unable to rise from his couch; and instead of taking a sudorific, which I most earnestly advised him to do, he was so obstinate as not to take any medicine at all, so that his illness increased with an alarming rapidity, and rather an alarming symptom appeared on the following day, when his speech became quite inarticulate and almost unintelligible. He then became aware himself of the dangerous state he was in. He informed me that in the town he should never recover, that it was absolutely necessary for him to get a change of air, and that he entertained the hope that, if I could take him to Máduwári, he might speedily regain his health in the house of our friend the kashélla Fúgo 'Alí.

It was a difficult task to take my sick companion to the desired place, which is distant from Kúkawa more than eight miles; and though he began his journey on Thursday morning, he could not reach the desired place until the morning of Friday. Having made a present to our friend Fúgo 'Alí, that he might be induced to take sufficient care of him, and having left the necessary orders, I returned to the town in order to finish my despatches; but the same evening one of the servants whom I had left with Mr. Overweg, came and informed me that he was much worse, and that they were unable to understand a single word he said. I mounted immediately, and found my friend in a most distressing condition, lying outside in the courtyard, as he had obstinately refused to sleep in the hut. He was bedewed with

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a cold perspiration, and had thrown off all his coverings. He did not recognize me, and would not allow me or any one else to cover him. Being seized with a terrible fit of delirium, and muttering unintelligible words, in which all the events of his life seemed to be confused, he jumped up repeatedly in a raging fit of madness, and rushed against the trees and into the fire, while four men were scarcely able to hold him.

At length, towards morning, he became more quiet, and remained tranquilly on his couch; and, not becoming aware that his strength was broken, and hoping that he might have passed the crisis, I thought I might return to the town. After asking him if he had any particular desire, he said that he had something to tell me; but it was impossible for me to understand him, and I can only fancy, from what happened, that, being aware that death was at hand, he wanted to recommend his family to me.

At an early hour on Sunday morning, Mr. Overweg's chief servant came to me with the sad news that the state of my friend was very alarming, and that since I had left him he had not spoken a word, but was lying motionless. I mounted immediately on horseback; but before I reached the place, I was met by a brother of Fúgo 'Alí, who, with tears in his eyes, told me that our friend was gone. With the dawn of day, while a few drops of rain were falling, after a short struggle, his soul had departed.

In the afternoon I laid him in his grave, which was dug in the shade of a fine hájilíj, and well

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protected from the beasts of prey. Thus died my sole friend and companion, in the thirtieth year of his age, and in the prime of his youth. It was not reserved for him to finish his travels, and to return home in safety; but he met a most honourable death, as a martyr to science; and it is a remarkable fact that he found himself a grave on the very borders of that lake by the navigation of which he has rendered his name celebrated for ever. It was certainly a presentiment of his approaching death which actuated him in his ardent desire to be removed to this place, where he died hard by the boat in which he had made his voyage. Many of the inhabitants of the place, who had known him well during his repeated visits to the village, bitterly lamented his death; and no doubt the "tabíb," as he was called, will be long remembered by them.

Dejected, and full of sad reflections on my lonely situation, I returned into the town in the evening; but our dwelling, which during my stay in Bagírmi my companion had greatly improved, and embellished by white-washing it with a kind of gypsum, of which he found a layer in our courtyard, now appeared to me desolate and melancholy in the extreme. While, therefore, originally it had been my plan to make another trial along the eastern shores of the Tsád, any longer stay in this place had now become so intolerable to me, that I determined to set out as soon as possible on my journey towards the Niger — to new countries and new people.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX I.

ACCOUNT OF THE EASTERN PARTS OF KA'NEM, FROM NATIVE INFORMATION.

In attempting to give a description of those parts of Kánem which I have not visited myself, I must express my regret that, when in that country, I had no knowledge of the manuscript history of the expeditions of Edrís Alawóma into the same region, as, with the assistance of the rich supply of the important historical as well as geographical data contained in that work, I should have been enabled to give a far more interesting description of the country, and even perhaps to identify the sites of many of its former remarkable places.

The former capital of Kánem, as has been seen, was Njímí, or Njímiye, a place whose approximate situation will be pointed out hereafter; the present capital, if we may still employ this title in such a country as Kánem is at the present time, is Máwó*, or rather Máwó, a place which already in the time of Edrís Alawóma was of great importance.

* The name is written in Arabic in very different ways, the MS. account of the expeditions of Edrís sometimes having the form ماوو at others ماو; but the real indigenous form seems to be Mawó, a name exactly similar to Gáwó, that of the capital of the Sónghay empire, and Yáwó, the residence of the Bulála princes. It is not improbable that by corruption the name Mátán, which by E'bn Sa'íd and A'bú 'l Fedá (p. 162.) is given to a well-known place in Kánem, has originated in the name of Máwó, although they place it close on the shore of the Tsád (bahíret Kúrí), and north from Njímiye.

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This town, which it was our ardent desire to visit, and which we most probably should have reached if the Welád Slimán had undertaken that expedition, on which we accompanied them, with the whole of their little troop, instead of allowing half of it to go to Kúkawa, seems to be situated about 20 miles S.S.E. from Hénderi Síggesi, and is at present only thinly inhabited, its population probably not exceeding 3000 or 4000, though the circuit of the town is said to be still of considerable magnitude. It is surrounded with a wall, and is adorned with a great many date-trees. It is the residence of a khalífa, whose power is of the most precarious and uncertain condition, as its existence depends entirely on the relative supremacy of either Wáday or Bórnu. The consequence is, that there are generally two khalífas — one actually in power, and the other watching to expel him at the first opportunity, with the assistance of one of the patronising powers — Mohammed Sáleh, the father of the celebrated king of Wáday ʿAbd el Kerím Sabún, having succeeded to the pretensions which the Bulála, the princes of the provinces of Fittrí and Kúka (then swallowed by the empire of Wáday), possessed by conquest over the kingdom of Kánem.

But, to return to Máwó, there is a market held in the town every Wednesday; but, on account of the very insecure state of the country, it cannot possibly be now of any great importance. The inhabitants seem to belong to a peculiar race; for the Tedá Gurâán call them by the name of Beránema, the origin and meaning of which I was not able to make out with certainty, but which may seem to have some connection with the name Bórnu, although it can scarcely have any relation to the name Beráuni, given to the Tedá themselves by the Kél-owí and other foreigners.

Between Máwó and Hénderi Síggesi there appear to be several favoured valleys, where the date-tree grows in more or less abundance. The most famous are the large valley called Kárafu, or Kárfu, a few miles from Máwó, under the authority

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of Keghámma Gúrde, who succeeded to Keghámma Síntal; on the west side of Kárfu, at a short distance from it, Yégi; and not far from it the valley Badánga, stated to be very rich in date-trees, and Kédalá, belonging to the chief Chéfandé *; then the valleys Hamáji (belonging to Fúgo?), Gáltará, and Mápal.

The valley of Mápal is said to form the limit of the date-tree in that direction. On the west side of Máwó is likewise an inhabited place called Kajídi, but without date-trees.

The upper part of the valley Gésgi, which is said to stretch from south to north, is called Télerí-Chemó, and is the dwelling-place of the Shírí, to whom belong the Fugábú (or, as the name is often pronounced, Fógubó†) Shírí, who are the inveterate enemies of the Woghda, the inhabitants of Gésgi. In this neighbourhood is also a valley called Líllowa.

North from Máwó, at no great distance from Aláli, towards the east, is the place Kulákulá, inhabited likewise by Kánembú. How Beráda, a place stated to be also on the north side of Máwó, and to be inhabited by a tribe called Kemálla, who are under the authority of a keghámma, is situated in relation to these places, I am unable to say. In various valleys on the same side of Máwó are also stated to be the dwelling-places of the Médelé, a nomadic tribe who possess a great many herds and flocks. In this neighbourhood is also the valley called Gúmsa, inhabited by a Tebu tribe called Gúmsuwa, and who seem to be different from the Gúmsu mentioned further on.

E.N.E. from Máwó are the inhabited places Kámmegrí and Jugó, inhabited by a peculiar tribe called el Mállemín by the Arabs. What their indigenous name is I did not learn;

* In this last statement there may be some error.

† May the name Fúgó, Fugábú, have any connection with the tribe of the Fúgu mentioned by Masúdi (*Golden Meadows*, chap. xxxiii. p. 138. MS. Transl. R. Asiatic Society)?

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they are most probably identical with the tribe called Haddáda, whose original name is Búngu.

The dwelling-places of the Shitáti are very numerous, and at a greater distance west from Máwó: several of them, indeed, we visited, such as Yégil, Aghó (formerly an important place, of great antiquity), Arnánko, Burkadrússo, Bóró. Besides these, the following are the most renowned places of their temporary residence: Bérindé, Línkero, Kínti, Hedérke, Din, Géringé, Tyíro, Kúlla, Laríska, two different places called Núnku, Kaú or Kó, Líshegó, Kélemrí, Delé, Tawáder, Géno, Lérgeji, Yíggela, Maina, Yíggu, Yakúlge, Bágalé*, Búni, Chánga, Nduró, Lódoré, two places with the name Kiyála (with one of which we shall soon become acquainted as Gharni Kiyála), Bólleli, Kúttuwa, My, Kájiró, A'ddufó, Yeró.

I now proceed southwards from Máwó towards the south-eastern border of Lake Tsád, the interior basin of which being tolerably well established by Mr. Overweg's navigation, its outline can be laid down according to these data with a great deal of approximative accuracy, though it is certainly much to be regretted that we did not succeed in reaching this district ourselves, and deciding the principal points by ocular demonstration.

I. Itinerary from M'awó to Tághghel, directly south.

1st day. Róyendú, a place inhabited by a peculiar tribe of Tedá or Tebu, called Vgýgim.

2nd. Belángara, a place inhabited by the Díbberi, who speak the Kanúri language†, and are said to be the original

* Bágalé is certainly an interesting example of the homonymy of African names in distant countries.

† From the origin of the people the name of the place is probably derived; for Bille Ngáre is the name which the inhabitants of Logón give to the Kanúri.

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tribe of the Fugábú. Arrive before the heat of the day.

3rd. Ghalá, a considerable village of huts inhabited by the Kúbberi, or Kobber, who speak the Kanúri language.

4th. Jékeré, a place at present inconsiderable, but once of large size, inhabited by the Kánku, (identical with the Kúnkuná?) a tribe or section of the Kánembú.

5th. Arrive, before the heat is great, at the well Lefádu, without inhabitants, make a short halt, and reach Mailo, a place with a lake full of fish, and inhabited by a peculiar tribe called Haddáda or Búngu, who are said to speak the Kanúri language, but go almost naked, being only clothed with a leather wrapper round their loins, and are armed with bows and arrows and the góliyó. They are very expert bowmen, and, when attacked, withdraw into the dense forests of their district (to which seems to apply the general name of Bárí), and know well how to defend their independence in politics as well as in religion — for they are pagans. To them belong the famous clan called, at least by the Welád Slimán, Dwárda Hájra. A celebrated town of the Haddáda is Dímári, the residence of Malá Díma. In Bárí there is a market held every Thursday, as it seems, in that part of it which is nearest to Máwó. In 1853 the Welád Slimán made a strict alliance with the Haddáda, and in consequence defeated, in their woody district, the officer of Wáday, called Agíd el Bahr.

For the general outlines of this little-known region, the following itinerary from Kúsuri to Máwó, according to the Kánemma chief Aʻmsakay, is of great importance:—

1st day. Sleep in the wilderness.

2nd. Sleep near Káú Abúddala, a rocky eminence near the lake (see Denham, vol. i. p. 261.). Two

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routes, connecting this important spot with Abú-Gher and Mélé, will be given in another place.

3rd. Yámanúk Kaléma, a large, open, straggling village, apparently named from the warlike chief A'manúk or Yámanúk, well known from Denham's narrative.

4th. Bárí, a large place or district formerly under the authority of the sheikh of Bórnu, near the shore of the lake.

5th. Dímári, a considerable place belonging to Díma, called by A'msakay a vice-governor of Kánem.

6th. Gúmsu, a place situated in a valley rich in date-trees, inhabited by Kánembú and Shúwa.

7th. Mandó, or Mondó, a large market-place, formerly under the khalífa of Bórnu.

8th. Máwó.

6th. Tághghel, a place situated on the border of the lagoon, and inhabited by the Kajídi, who cultivate a good deal of corn, and have large herds of camels. Arrive before the heat of the day. If agreeable, you can go on from Jékeré without stopping, and reach Tághghel the same day at sunset.

N.B.—The direction of all the wádiyán, or valleys, which you cross on this route, is from west to east.

II.—From Berí to Tághghel, going along the border of the lake.

1st day. Kólogó.

2nd. Késkawa, inhabited by the Kúbberi, with much cultivation of corn, principally "masr" (*Zea Maïs*), besides beans; much cattle. There was formerly also a village or district Késkawa on the southern shore of the lake, one day from Ngalá.

3rd. Kóskodó.

4th. Talgín, a considerable open village. At no great dis-

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tance from this place is a valley with date-trees. A man on foot can easily reach Talgín in two days from Berí, sleeping in Késkawa. From Talgín the direct road leads to Máwó in three days:—

1st. Mánigá, a place inhabited by Tebu and Kánembú, and situated, as it seems, on a creek of the lake.

2nd. A village inhabited by Tebu, under the authority of Kashélla Bacha, with a market of some importance, where a great many dates are sold.

3rd. Reach Máwó at sunset, after having passed the heat in an open valley-plain with date-trees.

5th. Vuli, or Fúli. From here another route leads to Máwó.

6th. Kúnunú.

7th. Kánaná.

8th. Forrom, a place on *terra firma*, not to be confounded with the island of the same name.

9th. Ngíllewá.

10th. Medí.

11th. Tághghel.

I will here only just mention that Tághghel cannot be identified with Denham's Tangalia, because the latter was situate about one day's journey south (see Denham, vol. i. p. 265.*), or rather S.W. from the Bahr el Ghazál, and Tághghel lies a day and a half to the north of it.

III.—The Bahr el Ghazál, called "burrum" by the Kánembú, and "féde" by the Tebu Gurá'án.

All the accounts which I received with regard to this much talked-of valley, which it had been our earnest desire to visit, agreed in the very remarkable statement, that its inclination was not from the desert towards the lake, but from

* In this passage, however, it seems almost as if there were a misunderstanding, "in a day" instead of "once."

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the lake towards the desert. All my informants stated that it is now dry, but that less than a hundred years ago it formed the bed of a river or channel opening a communication by water between the Tsád and Búrgu. Indeed some people asserted that there was still living a very old man who, in his early youth, had made this journey by water. The spot where this very large wádí, now dry and densely clothed with trees, joins the Tsád, is near the south side of a place called 'Alimarí, distant one day and a half from Tághghel, in a southerly direction. Start from Tághghel, sleep at Kirchímma, before noon arrive at 'Alimarí. But at present this connection between the lake and the valley is said to be blocked up by sandhills near a spot called Súggera, or Mezrák, by the Arabs, which prevents the water of the lake, even in its highest state, from entering into the Burrum. However, more inward, another basin is here formed, which is occasionally called Hédebá.

From 'Alimarí to Moító.

1st day. Kedáda, a large place, entirely inhabited by runaway slaves, who have asserted their liberty.
2nd. Kédigi, inhabited by La Sálá, or el Asále' Arabs.
3rd. Moító (see Appendix VIII.)

'Alimarí to Kárnak Lógone, two and a half days.

Though a few of my informants were of opinion that there was a branch-wádí uniting the Bahr el Ghazál with Lake Fittrí, nevertheless most of them stated uniformly that they have no connection whatever, but that several independent valleys intervene between them. This statement is borne out by many circumstances.

The direction of the Burrum, for a considerable part of its course, is given by the route from Máwó to Yáwó, the capital of the province Fittrí (according to my informants, due east).

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1st day (short). Kálkalá, different from the place Kulákulá mentioned above.

2nd. Gújer. Pass here the heat; start again in the afternoon; sleep on the road. This whole district appears to have the general appellation of Sagóre, which I think cannot be different from Yagóre, the name of the country in which Mondó is situated.

3rd. Toróro, a well in the Burrum; before the kaila. A man on horseback is said to go in one day from Máwó to the wádí. Pass here the heat; start again at dhohor, and encamp at sunset, still in the wádí.

4th. Encamp at the beginning of the heat, still in the same wádí.

5th. In another (?) wádí.

6th. Shégeráye, a well with much water (and, according to other informants, in the Burrum).

7th. Hájiját.

8th. Encamp between the rocks in Wádí Fáli.

9th. Fittrí.

ITINERARY FROM YÁWÓ TO MÁWÓ, ACCORDING TO THE BULÁLA IBRAHÍM.

1st day. Fáli, a rocky valley belonging to Bagírmi.

2nd. Aúni, a hamlet inhabited by Bagírmi people.

3rd. Búkko.

4th. Shégeráye, a valley inhabited by Tebu Guráán.

5th. Bahr el Ghazál.

6th. Kedáda, a place inhabited by Týnjur. It is a question of some importance whether this Kedáda be identical with the Kedáda mentioned above.

7th. Mondó, a considerable place in the district Yagóre, and therefore sometimes called Mondó Yagóre, inhabited by Týnjur (about this curious race of people I shall have occasion to say more in another place), Wáday people, and Arabs. In the same district of Yagóre lies also the place Bugárma, governed by the chief Kedl

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Adúmmo. Mondó is mentioned by Denham repeatedly under the form of Mendoo or Kanem Mendoo, and was computed by him to be distant about ten hours' ride from his station in the camp of the Dúggana.* Mondó is the residence of a governor formerly under the authority of Bórnu, but at present (at least in 1851) under that of Wáday. The present governor is Fúgobo Bakr, or A'bakr (properly A'bú Bakr); and very often the agíd el bahr resides there.

8th. Yagúbberi (the name, probably, connected with that of the Kánembú tribe Kúbberi), inhabited by Týnjur.

9th. Máwó.

Here may be conveniently mentioned the stations along the celebrated Burrum, as given to us by the Welád Slimán, which, checked by the itineraries mentioned above, will give an appropriate outline of the windings of the valley, as laid down in the map.

Beginning at 'Alímarí, always keeping along the Burrum, the usual stations are the following:—

Gerén, Hebál, Shégeráye, Fajája, Múnarak, Shéddera, Torórí, Haradíbe, Gélemní, Hagéji, Tylb-bahr (Túl el bahr?), Chúwaru, Egé.

The situation of Egé is decided by an itinerary from Ngégimi to that place, which shall be given further on. But first I must mention one difficulty, which leaves a little uncertainty in the configuration of this part of the country. This difficulty regards the place Shégeráye, which in this piece of information is mentioned as a spot and well in the Burrum itself; while in the itineraries (p. 493.) it is indicated rather as a different valley; but it does not seem so

* Denham's Journal, vol. i. p. 262, ff. It is not quite clear whether Denham reckons the fifty miles (p. 267.) to Mendoo or to Máwó, but probably to Máwó. The name Korata Mendooby (p. 267.) means the Keráda (Fugábú) of Mondó.

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difficult to account for this difference, the large valley apparently dividing repeatedly into several branches.

About the identity of Torórі there cannot be the least doubt, as the road from Màwó to this place leads by Kálkalá and Gújer.

SHORT ITINERARY FROM NGÉGIMI TO EGÉ.

Mayiját, bír Nefása, bír Sherífa, bír el Hósha, el Hamír, bír Hadúj, bír el 'Atesh, bír ben Mússebí, bír Sali, Kéderi, Díra or Díri, Bírfo (I am not sure whether originally bír Fó), Egé.

ANOTHER ITINERARY FROM BÍR EL KURNA TO EGÉ, TOUCHING AT BÍR EL 'ATESH AND MÚSSEBÍ.

1st day. A long march; at sunset arrive at bír el 'Atesh, north.
2nd. At dhohor encamp in the wilderness.
3rd. After four hours' march arrive at bír ben Mússebí.
4th. About áser (about half-past four o'clock, P.M.) encamp in the wilderness.
5th. After four or five hours' march, arrive at bír el Borfó, which is already beyond the boundaries of Kánem. It is evident that this well is not identical with Bírfo.
6th. Encamp in a place with plenty of hád, but only few trees.
7th. At sunset arrive in Egé.

Egé is a very celebrated locality (one prominent spot of which is called Kukúrde) with the nomadic inhabitants of these regions, and is temporarily frequented by a variety of tribes, who visit it in order to water their camels from the famous wells (which are believed to promote the growth of the camel), and to collect the fruit of the siwák, or *Capparis*, which grows in very great abundance in this part of the valley, while higher up it seems to be more scanty. The strongest among these tribes in former times were the Bultu

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or Biltu, who will be mentioned presently in the list of the Tebu tribes, and had formerly the supremacy over the Nakássa, the Halál el debús (an Arab nickname, the proper name of the tribe not being known to me), both of whom frequent likewise Egé, and the Khiyát e' ríh (another nickname). Besides the tribes above-mentioned, Egé is generally frequented by the Músu, the Sakérda, by that section of the Fugábú which is under the supremacy of Kédl Lawáti, and occasionally by the Welád Slimán. But Egé, of course, on account of its being resorted to by many tribes as a fine place for their herds of camels, is also a marked point for predatory expeditions.

From Egé the Burrum or Bahr el Ghazál seems to turn to the N.W., or at least to the N.N.W., going to Tangúr, a famous place two days from Egé. Tangúr (where the country seems to form a large basin) is generally regarded as the end of the Burrum; and a hypsometrical observation made here would immediately decide the question about the inclination of the Burrum, and show whether the very remarkable statement of the natives be correct or not. Some people contend that the wádí extends still further into Búrku, or Búrgu. North from Tangúr, a day or two's march, is the famous place Báteli, not less celebrated than Egé for its fine breed of camels, generally of a dark-brown or a rather blackish colour, of which I myself had occasionally a specimen in my train, and Degírshim.

After having given this piece of information with regard to the south-east part of Kánem and the Burrum, I now proceed to give some itineraries from the quarters of which information has been obtained in this way, to the country of Búrku or Búrgu, about which Captain Lyons has given so many interesting details. I will only add that Dr. Overweg took down, from the mouth of a well-informed native, a very exact itinerary of the route from Múrzuk to this country, which, together with the other data and the information collected by Mr. Fresnel, goes far to establish its position with great approximative precision.

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FROM EGÉ TO YEN OR BELED EL 'OMIYÁN, THE CHIEF PLACE IN BÚRKU. N.N.E.

1st day. Taró or Tró, a valley with bitter water.
2nd. Karó; before the heat of the day.
3rd. Aúdánga, a well, with plenty of excellent brushwood.
4th. Tungúrki, before the heat of the day.
5th. Yaiyó el kebír, a well, with dúm-palms, and near to it Yaiyó elsghír. Yaiyó is nine days from Só, on the Búlma road, reaching Gíri in two days, A'rraka in two more days, and from hence Só in five days.
8th. Yen, having entered the limits of Búrku on the 6th day, when you first come to the source called 'Aín Telékka. The neighbourhood of Yen is rich in herbage and palm-trees. The village in general consists of houses or cottages built of stone; but the number of the inhabitants fluctuates. Galákka is another of the principal places in Búrku. There are several chiefs of authority in the place, the most influential of whom seems to be Lénga or, with his title, Táwa Lénga. There is, besides Yówórde, another chief called Kálemé, and a third one called Bíddu, belonging to the tribe or family of the Bídduwa. As for the Kédl-Agré, the chief of the Búltu, he also occasionally resides here. In Téki, a locality fertilized by a large spring, another chief resides, belonging to the Tiyówa, and called Gehénni.

Yen is eleven days from 'Arádha, the seat of the Máhamíd, the position of which may be determined with great precision by the distance from Wára (see Appendix, No. VI.):—1st day, Wen; 3rd, Chirógia: 7th, Oshim; 11th, 'Arádha.

I will now say a word about the tribes and families of the Tebu and their present settlements, referring to my account

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of the history of the Bórnu kingdom (Vol. II. p. 275.), and to my journey homeward in 1855 for further particulars.

The Tebu, Tubu, or rather Tedá, I think myself still justified in considering, as I have stated on a former occasion*, as nearly related to the Kanúri; and the historical relations between the two nations, which I have had occasion to elucidate above, serve to corroborate my opinion. The Arabs, especially the Welád Slimán, generally add to the name Tebu the word "Gráán" or "Guráán," which I think myself justified in referring to the district Goran, so often referred to by Leo Africanus, while Marmol writes it Gorhan. The Tebu themselves I never heard use the name, and forgot to ask the meaning of the word. I will here only add, that in their own language they call the Kanúri by the name of Túgubá, while they give to the Imóshagh, or Tawárek, the name of Yéburdé. I shall first mention those Tebu tribes who live in and near Kánem, and have already been mentioned occasionally, then proceed northwards, and from thence to the south-east.

The principal tribes settled in Kánem are the Woghda, the Dogórda, the Gádeá, the Yewórma†, and the Fídda; in Lúmna, on the komádugu Wáúbe, the E'deré or E'durí; north of the komádugu, as far as Beduwáram, the Búlgudá, called by the Arabs and Bórnu people Dáza; near Beduwáram the Wándala, a tribe already mentioned by Captain Lyon, as well as by Major Denham ‡; near them the Aússa;

* Vol. II. p. 276. note.

† The Yewórma, as well as the Tymmélme and Yéggada, have been almost annihilated by the Tawárek.

‡ As for the Traita, mentioned by Lyon, p. 265., and by Major Denham repeatedly, vol. i. p. 42. *et seq.*, I think that this name is not indigenous; at least I have been unsuccessful in getting information respecting a people so called. Denham himself calls them once "the people of Traita."

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about the well of A'ghadem the Bolodúwa, called (by the Kanúri) ám Wadébe; along the Burrum, called "féde" by the Tebu, the Kárda, called generally Kréda, separated into several families, the principal of which are the Gelímma, the Grasón (this I think rather the name of a chief, all the names of tribes ending with a vowel), and Bukóshelé; the Shindakóra, with the chief A'bú Nakúr; the Sakerda, with Bakáikoré; the Médemá and the Nóreá, generally called Nwórmá *: in Egé and Báteli, the Músu, with their chief Wúdda; in Tongúr, the Nakássa, a section of whom are the Un, with the chief Máina; in Bilma, or Bulma (which probably is the right form), and the wádí Kawár, or rather "hénderi Tedá," as it is called by the natives, the tribe of the Gésera or Gésedi.

In Tibésti (a general name which once seems to have had a wider range than it has at present) and Báteli: — the Temághera †, as they are generally called, a very interesting tribe, of ancient historical importance (which I have already mentioned on a former occasion as probably having given the name to the province of Demágherim, and which in the time of Edrís Alawóma was settled in Ngurúti [written Ghugúti] in Kánem), with the chief Gurdé, who has succeeded to Tehárke; the Gonda or Gunda, whose old chief Taher Asar died some time ago (the same who wanted to write a letter to King George, in Denham's time) in Bordé (the Berdai of Capt. Lyon), one of the principal localities in Tibésti, and in other places; the A'rindá in Dírkemáwu, another locality of Tibésti, with the chief Kénemé. North from Tibésti in the valley Táwó, the Abó, a name which has often, by Lyon and even by M. Overweg in the itinerary just mentioned, been mistaken for that of a place.

* Under this form they came also under Burckhardt's notice. (Travels in Nubia, 2nd ed. Appendix I. p. 435.)

† There seems to be some Berber element in the word; but I think it is more apparent than real, for the word is distinctly written by Imám A'hmed, Tumághira.

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These latter tribes together, I think, form the group generally called Tebu Resháde, but with the indigenous appellation "Tedetú."

In O'jánga or Wajánga*, eastward from Tibésti, and north-eastward from Búrku in the direction of Kúffara, with Kebábo, which latter place, by the people of Búrgu, is called Tesser:—the tribe of the Wónya with the chief Onókke; the Matátena or Gúrin, to the south of them, in fertile valleys producing even figs.

In Búrku:—the Búltu, called by the Arabs by the nick-name of Nejá el Keléb, with their powerful chief the Kédl-Agré, and residing part of the year in Yen, but after the dates have been gathered, generally settled in the district called Keré Búrku, and at other seasons in Egé; under the authority of the Kédl-Agré are also the Kírdidá in Kírdi†, the Guruwá in Gur, and the Elbuwéda in Elbuwé; the Yenowá, with their chief Alánga, or rather Lénga, in Yen; the Dóza, with their chief Kálema in Búdda, a valley east of Yen; the Yerda in a locality of the same name about half a day's march east from Yen, with the chief Yíle; the Téyewá in Téke, a favoured spot or valley at present under the authority of Gehénni, their former chief, Saháyi, the father of a numerous family, having died; in the large valley 'Arádha, on the borders of Wáday, the Mohéde, formerly under 'Othmán Beléde, who died some time ago, and, further on, the Zogháwa, a very numerous and powerful tribe.

I should have now to enumerate the tribe of the Terauye or Bédeyát (or, as they are called by the Arabs, A'uwa), who live in the district E'nnedi, intersected with a great many valleys, one of which is called Káúle, and another, in the

* See Capt. Lyon's Narrative, p. 266., where a rather exaggerated account is given of the irrigation of the country, which seems certainly not to be at all sterile throughout.

† This name has obviously nothing to do with the name which the Kanúri give to pagans; the Tebu called pagans "érdi."

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neighbourhood of Wádáy, Níyu, if I were sure that they belong to the nation of the Tebu. But the few words of their language which I was able to ascertain, such as water, fire, are entirely different from the corresponding words in módi Tedá:—"water," mí (Terauye), éyi (Tedá); "fire," jó (Terauye), wuëni (Tedá). One of their chiefs is Rúzzi, who has become well known on account of his connection with the mercantile enterprise of 'Abd el Kerím Sabún the king of Wádáy.* This chief, who was still living in 1851, is a Moslim, while most of the Terauye are pagans.

* See Fresnel, *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr.* 1849, 3me série, t. xi. p. 53.

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APPENDIX II.

GEOGRAPHICAL DETAILS CONTAINED IN "THE DIVAN," OR ACCOUNT GIVEN BY THE IMÁM ÁHMED BEN SOFÍYA * OF THE EXPEDITIONS OF THE KING EDRÍS ALAWÓMA FROM BORNU TO KÁNEM.

First Expedition.

1 day, Ghambarú غَمْبَرُوا, starting from Birni Ghasréggomo.

„ Zantam زَنْتَم

„ Kishímuwa كسموة (returning westward).

„ Zantam (returning eastward).

„ Ghotúwa غتوة

Several days, Berí بِرِى*, having made short marches. However, the king did not encamp in the town of Berí itself, but round about a fortified place (شوكية) called Ghátigha غَاتِغَه, which according to other accounts was situated at some little distance from the town of Berí. Berí was a celebrated place, on account of its situation, and of great importance in the intercourse between Bórnu and Kánem.†

* See Vol. II. p. 260. I remark once for all that the names in the MS. are written in the Maghrebi or Warash style; but they shall here be given in the Eastern or A'bú 'Omár character.

† وهو بلد مشهور عند كل من يذهب الى بلد كانم من اهل برنوا

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1 day, Furtú فُرْتُوا (arrival at the time of the káila, or kiyúla), passing by Sakala سكلة, a locality (مكان), not an inhabited place, and by the town Ghayawá غَيَوا. The town of Furtú or Furtúwa is of the greatest importance in the geography of Kánem, as it is identical with the I'klí or I'kelí mentioned by Makrízí.* Imám A'hmed writes اِكْلَهْ. But it had besides a third name, viz. Gháljadú, or Gháljadúwá غَلْجَدُوا

„ Alále, أَلَالَه, with easterly direction.

„ Ghibúwa-kanjiyíz غِبُو كَنْجِيز, a locality, not an inhabited place.

„ Daghál دغال

„ Burum بُرُم

„ Róro بلد رُورُ

„ Keswadá كَسَوَدا

„ Ghumámí غُمَامى

„ Súlú or Súlúwá سُولُوا. This place in another passage † is called by the author a seat of the Kenaníya, a tribe which in former times seems to have formed the principal stock of the population of Kánem, and who were hostile to the people of Bórnu, but who appear to have suffered greatly by the expeditions of Edrís. See further on.

„ Múlghim مُولْغِم

* See Vol. II. p. 277. † MS. p. 101.

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1 day, Kurú or Kurúwá كُرُوا

„ Melajerá, a river بِمَلَجِرَا النحر المسمى.*

„ Rimbawá رِمبَوا

„ Máwó, written here مَعوا, but soon afterwards ماوا and p. 16. مَاو (even مَاوو by mistake). He arrived here a little before zawál. The situation of Berí being ascertained by ourselves, and that of Máwo being laid down with approximative certainty, the whole route, supposing that it runs in a tolerably straight line, could be described with some approach to exactness in a drawing. Of course the uncertainty increases as we pass beyond this place into the south-eastern quarter of Kánem. Máwó was then a place celebrated throughout the whole of Kánem; but it was not the residence of any powerful chief. 'Abd el Jelíl the Bulála prince at that time resided in Yitúkurma (or Yutúkurma, for both forms appear † يِتُوكُرمَه and يُتُوكُرمَه) distant from Máwó "megíl" (that is to say, from five to six hours' march, at a very swift rate), in a S.E. direction, as it seems.

From Máwó Edrís directed his course to Wasámí وَسَامِى in a northerly direction (p. 18.) distant about zawál, while the host of the Bulála came to Kírsila كِرسِلَه, which pro-

* This river is a very important feature in the country, and would be easily identified if a traveller were to visit those southern regions of Kánem.

† These two different forms occur in many Kanúri and Tebu names :—Bulma and Bilma, burni (as Imám A'hmed always writes) and birni, and so on.

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bably* lay west of Wasámi. The Bulála fled (at the dhahúwe); Edrís went towards the southern parts of Kánem, arrived between dhohor and 'aser at Mánmana مَنمَنة, where there was no water.

From hence to Tasa تَسة or Tusa تُسة. Arrived about zawál. Evidently a large place, as he remained here eight days. Here the Bulála fled a second time.

From Tasa, Njímiye or Shímiye (here written السِيم, a little further on الجِيم, and a few lines previously السِيمَ), before zawál; the old capital before the time of Dáúd. Unfortunately he does not add in what direction he went.

Here Edrís had the Kurán read thrice at the sepulchres of the old kings of Bórnu.

From Njímiye Edrís went to A'gháfí الاَغَافى, where there was a fortified place of the Bulála; arrived at dhohor (after a short delay on the march), met the hostile army there, who instantly turned their backs.

From A'gháfí to Sendú سَندُوة

From Sendú to I'kima اكِمة

From I'kima returned to A'gháfí, and celebrated there the 'Aíd el Fotr according to the old fashion of Bórnu.

From A'gháfí to Fifísi ففيسة, starting in the evening; marched the whole night, and arrived in the morning. Made here much booty, 'Abd el Jelíl having taken to flight.

From Fifísi returned to A'gháfí in two days and a half, while 'Abd el Jelíl was in Ghasikú غَسكُوا north from A'ghafí.

* Very questionable; the Bulála when flying retired eastward.

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From A'ghádí Edrís went to Njímiye, starting at the beginning of áser and arriving at el áshá.

From Njímiye he then went to Melíma مَلِيمَه from dhohor till mughreb at a swift rate.

From Melíma to Ghasikú.

From Ghasikú returned to A'ghádí by Melíma and Njímiye, and resided there for a long time, collecting the chiefs of the Bulála and even the Arabs and the tribe of Fittrí, and conferring the government of Kánem on the fáki Mohammed ben 'Abd-Allah.

From A'ghádí Edrís went to Ghamtilú the burial-place of Bíri ben Dúnama.

From Ghamtilú, southwards to Belághi بَلَاغ

(While the King Edrís went to Belághi, his imám, A'hmed ben Sofíya, the author of the history of Edrís' expeditions, keeping more to the west, visited an old mosque called مسجد اَرْمِی apparently one of the first places of Mohammedan worship in the country.)

From Belághi Edrís went again southwards, in the direction of the lake الى جهة النجر من اليمين to Fisla فِسلَه where he remained a long time, receiving embassies from Arabs and Kúka, or rather Kúkú كوكوا and Fittrí.

From Fisla Edrís turned westwards towards Bórnu:—

First to Díyawá ديوا where he made some stay.

From Díyawá to Ghalá, or rather Ngalá, غَلَا

From Ngalá to A'wano, اَوْنَه

From A'wano to 'Alúwa, عَلْوَه

From 'Alúwa (returned?) to Ngalá.

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From Ngalá to Madaghama مَدَغَمَه where he was joined by Mohammed ben 'Abd-Allah and his army.

From Madaghama, having heard that 'Abd el Jelíl had come again to Yitukurma, Edrís returned once more eastward to Ngalá, thence again to Madaghama.

From Madaghama, proceeding straight for Bórnu, in one long day, to Súlú.

From Súlú to Keghusiti, كغُسِطه

From Keghusiti to Síki, البلد سِيكه, which at that time formed the frontier between Bórnu and Kánem, on which account the drum was there beaten.

From Síki to the district of the Sugurti or Sukurti ارض سُكُرْت

From Sugurti to Bulúghi بُلُوغ

From Bulúghi to Ngughúti (Ngurúti) غوغوته, further on غُغُوته

From Ngughúti to Berí.

But his return to Bórnu was frustrated; for, having learnt in Berí the news of a battle fought between 'Abd el Jelíl and Mohammed, whom he had made governor of Kánem, near Yitukurma, in which the latter was apparently vanquished, he returned once more to the east, dividing his army into two portions, and taking only one division with him.

From Berí to Ghátíghi (here written غاتىغه) the same fortified place which has been before mentioned as lying quite in the neighbourhood of Berí, and where the armies used to assemble.

From Ghátíghi or Ghátiga to Ngughúti.

From Ngughúti to Bulúghi.

From Bulúghi to Kirteti (?) كرتتى

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From Kirteti to Keghusiti.

From Keghusiti to Ririkmi رِرِكْمِه

From Ririkmi to Gharni-Kiyála غَرْنِى كِيَالَه a large walled town, evidently one of the two Kiyála mentioned (p. 484.) as belonging to Shitáti.

From Gharni-Kiyála to Yesembú يَسَمبُوا starting in the night, at a swift rate, and reaching the place after sunrise; but apparently it did not lie in his way, as he returned from thence into the direct road.

From hence to Wasámi.

From Wasámi to Melíma, reaching it at the káila (about eleven o'clock).

From Melíma to Njímiye (east), arriving in the evening.

From Njímiye to A'ghá'fí, or the fortress of A'ghá'fí, starting after midnight, and arriving before sunrise. Pursuing thence 'Abd el Jelíl, he caught part of his Zmála with the queen Ghumsu Wábi.

From A'ghá'fí returned to Njímiye.

(The khalífa Yeríma Yaghá, whom Edrís had left with the sick in Wasámi, pursuing his march from thence at a slow rate towards the north (الى جهة الشمال), went first to Díru دِيرُ

From Díru to Madhími مَضِيم

From Madhími to Njímiye, where he met Edrís.)

From Njímiye Edrís went eastwards to Kawál كَوَالْ Arrived at dhahawe (about nine o'clock A.M.).

From Kawál he started at midnight; went first south, at dawn turned eastwards gradually towards the north, and fell upon the Tebu (evidently about the Bahr el Ghazál).

Returned from this predatory excursion to Kawál.

From Kawál returning to Njímiye [apparently by a long

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detour], went first to Saghi (Sheghi, Shiri?) سَغِه which he reached at sunset.

From Saghi, starting before sunrise, reached Njímiye by way of I'kma إِكْمَه and Ghurfala غُرْفَل

The return of Edrís to Njímiye happened just at the right time; for the Bulála king, who had received the news of Edris' return to Kánem on his way to Bagírmi, or as it is here written, in the form usual to the Kanúri, Bagharmí بَغَرْمِى led his host against the Bórnu army, and had almost succeeded in taking the camp by surprise, when Edrís arrived and compelled him to fly.

From Njímiye Edrís now went to Ghimará غِمَرا

From Ghimará, in a southerly direction, to Satóm سَتُوم a place close to Yitukurma.

From Satóm to Daghelú or Daghelwá دغلوا, where 'Abd el Jelíl had taken up his residence, but fled. [Daghelú, most probably, is identical with Taghghel.]

Returning from Daghelú to Satóm, Edrís met his vizier in Kargha-Simsim كرغه سِمسِم* [consequently Dághelú lay south from Kargha, or in the southern part of Kargha].

In Simsim, Edrís had a conference with some Arabs [Shúwa] and Tebu or Tubu تُبُ as A'hmed generally writes the name. The latter chose to migrate to Bórnu, while the former, who enjoyed a strict alliance with the Bórnu king, remained behind in Kánem.

From Simsim Edrís went northwards to Bárí بارى [evi-

* In my MS., before this name there is a slight mistake, caused by a repetition of the first part of the name.

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dently the district mentioned above]. (The vizier also, whom Edrís had left behind in Satóm, in order to meet his master in Simsim, had traversed Bárí).*

From Bárí Edrís went to Mandó مندو [Mandó Yagóre].

From Mandó Edrís went northwards, when he became aware that the enemy was marching westwards, and changed his march till he came to Kitaki (?) البلد كِطَكِ

'Abd el Jelíl, being pursued, fled into the desert.

(The officer Mídalá ben Fátima, left in Mandó, followed his king slowly, but nevertheless, on starting from Mandó, did not encamp before he had passed Máwó.

Having in this encampment received the order to come to Yira, he went first to Yíkima يِكِمه

Thence to Yira يِرَهْ where he arrived at the time of the hejír, that is to say, a little past twelve o'clock.

From hence he went to Sitati (probably Shitáti) سِظَطِ (thus written thrice).†

From Shitáti Edrís turned westwards on his home-journey to Bórnu, but encamped the first day quite near, where the Arabs (Shúwa) took leave of him.

* In Bárí the vizier fell in with a kafila of strangers whom he plundered :

الذى وجد فيه الرفقا الذين كانوا مع كَوْمه من اهل الاَرمى.

Kaúma probably was a governor of the town Kaú, the place of Shitáti mentioned p. 484. A'hel el A'rmi has evidently a connection with the mesjed A'rmi mentioned p. 502.

† It is evident from this, that the name كِطَكِ above is a mere lapse of the pen.

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From hence he proceeded slowly to Berí*, where the booty was divided, and all those among the captives who were free men allowed to return to their families or tribes, without any ransom, according to a very remarkable custom observed from ancient times by the Bulála, in their predatory incursions into Bórnu—a first germ of international law.

Second Expedition.

Scarcely had Edrís Alawóma dismissed his governors and officers, in order to prepare all that was wanted for another expedition into Kánem, when he received the news that his indefatigable and harassing enemy had come into the neighbourhood of Bulúji, or Bulúghi.

Edrís therefore hastened back from his favourite town Ghambarú, when 'Abd el Jelíl turned off towards the north to Kara كَرَهْ or Kura كُرَهْ and Jitkú جِتْكُوا [probably so called from the Tebu tribe of that name], while Edrís ben Harún, the faithful and valiant vizier of the Bórnu king, was stationed in the neighbouring town of Butti بُتِّهْ.

Edrís came from Berí to Ghayawá غَيَوَا, where he met his vizier.

From Ghayawá he came to the district of the Sugurti arriving about the áshá.

From Sugurti he went to "the red water" الما لاحمر.

From this place, instead of taking the road by Súlú, he kept more to the north, reached a copious well at zawál (between twelve and one o'clock), started again at áser, and reached at sunset the well Rubki رُبْكِهْ or Rubku رُبْكُهْ with irrigated plantations (khattatír).

* Berí is here once written بارى by mistake; in another place it is written بريه.

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From Rubku, starting at midnight, reached I'kerímа اكريمه where 'Abd el Jelíl had taken up his residence, about zawál, made a great booty; the Bulála king fled.

Edrís returned from I'keríma to Rubku in two days and a half.

From Rubku he returned to Berí, and from thence returned to Ghambarú, as it would seem from Imám A'hmed's account, at an enormously swift rate, traversing the space from Berí to Ghambarú, 130 geogr. miles in a straight line, in about 25 hours' actual march.

Start from Berí at áser, arrive at Kebúwa كَبُوَ at the áshá.

Start from Kebúwa in the morning, arrive at Kikeri كِكَرِ at the káíla.

Start from Kikeri in the afternoon, arrive at Debúbu دبوبو or دبوبهٔ at the áshá.

Start from Debúbu in the morning, arrive at Ruwáyah رُوَايَه at the káíla.

From hence Ghambarú, a few miles, from the beginning till the end of áser.

Third Expedition.

Edrís having rested but a short time, immediately prepared another expedition, in order to return to Kánem before the gathering in of the dates.

The army collected in Ghátigha close to Berí.

Setting out from thence, along the shores of the Tsáde, or Tsádi يسير بطرف النحر ثَاد he went to Ngughúti.

From Ngughúti to Bulúji.

From Bulúji to the district of the Sugurti.

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From hence to Róro, from whence he sent his light and choice cavalry in advance.

From Róro to Kimisnó كِمِسنو البلد arrived at zawál.

From Kimisnó, starting at the beginning of the áser, at a very swift rate, reached before sunset Lebá لبا, a celebrated locality with artificial irrigation.

From Lebá, proceeding in an easterly direction, to Gharni Kiyála, in two days and a half.

From Gharni Kiyála, starting at áser, following an easterly direction, for I'sembú, or Yisembú, dismounting only at sunset to cook and feed the horses; and thus continuing on the whole night, and only dismounting again to say the prayer of dawn, Edrís continued his march till he had passed Wasámi, which was near Yisembú, evidently towards the west, and made a rich booty.

From Yisembú he went to Delli دَلّه البلد which was famous on account of its richness in dates, and its general exuberance. Here he gathered the dates in all the different stages of maturity.

From Delli, Edrís turned westwards, in order to join the officer Yíruma Yaghá, when, receiving intelligence that the Tebu wanted to cut him off, he attacked them, and made an immense slaughter.

Went from hence to "the great well" — name not given.

From hence to Gharni Kiyála, following an experienced Tebu guide.

From Gharni Kiyála Edrís turned eastward towards the places or valleys rich in date-trees. Encamped in a vale بقعة

From hence he went without stopping till he reached Yídh يِضْ or Yídhi يِضِه a place especially famous on account of its dates.

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From hence he turned southwards, and went to Fógha فوغه likewise rich in dates. (Another place with date-trees is here mentioned, of the name of Debekú.)

From Fógha back to Delli, or rather a little beyond it.

From hence in several days, in a southerly direction, he went to I'wana اَوَنه, in the southern part of Kánem.

From hence, by way of Delmi, he went to Daghelú or Daghulwá, here written دَغْلُوا, the place above-mentioned, but which, on this occasion, the historian represents as a place especially celebrated with the people of Kánem, and at that time extremely wealthy. Slept on the shore of the lagoons, as his whole road led through numbers of lagoons or ponds, just then full of water; arriving the next morning at the town, found it empty, but the Koyám, and those of his army who were mounted upon camels, followed the people northwards, and made rich booty.

The king of the Bulála and his party meanwhile fled into the desert.

Edrís returned homewards towards Bórnu.

First to Ngalá, a cluster of villages, or rather district البلد علا اوالقليم غلا

From Ngalá to Tentebú تَنَتَبُوا

From Tentebú to Róro.

From Róro northwards to Siru سِرُو. In going, Edrís employed a day and a night يوما وليلا but on returning from Siru to Róro only marched from morning till sunset, so that the distance cannot be very great, as he was then laden with spoil (a great booty in cattle and goats, but no camels).

From Róro to Limárá لِمَارَا, where he stopped two days.

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From thence to Ghayáwa.

From Ghayáwa he took another road to Dilárá دِلارا where he left half of his army, returning with the other half to Ghambarú.

Fourth * Expedition.

The next year, on the first Sunday in Shawál, Edrís again left Ghambarú, reached Kesúdá by way of Zamtam, I'tanáwa, Berí, Ngurúti or Ngughúti, Sugurti, Róro.

From Kesúda, leaving the road to Ghumámi on one side, he went to Síki.

From Síki to Ríkma ريركمه

From Ríkma to Wagham وَغَم

From Wagham to Wasámi.

From Wasámi to Mawó or Máwó, here written ماوا

From Máwó to Ghamirá غَمِرَا

From Ghamirá to Njímiye, the chief town of Kánem المدينه الكبيره البلد الكبير

From Njímiye to Belághi, taking with him a great provision of water.

From Belághi to A'ghafí; starting at áser, arrived before sunset.

From A'ghafí to Ghanjáya, arriving near zawál.

From Ghanjáya to Ragharkú رَغَرْكوا

In their fortified encampment near this place the Bórnu army on the 25th Dhu el kadá, was attacked at night by the Bulála, when a very severe struggle ensued, and the camp was almost taken by the enemy with great slaughter of the Bórnu people, and considerable loss of property.

* According to Imám Ah'med, this was the fifth expedition which the king had undertaken.

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From Ragharkú Edrís went to Delli, when the Bulála gave up their last stronghold, Aghó اغو or اغوا, a very old place which they had rebuilt and restored after Edrís had destroyed all their strongholds in Kánem, even the two other most famous places I'kima and A'ghá fí.* Aghó was evidently situated on the brink of the vale or hollow بقعة) which we passed on our march, the 10th of October; and Delli is identical with the place mentioned above among the most important inhabited spots of Shitáti.

From Delli Edrís went southwards towards Kelu كَلُه very slowly, till they crossed the river which divides

* I shall here insert the whole passage of the historian, which is of the highest importance:

سار السلطان الى كانم اربع مرات قبل هذا السير الذه فيه القتال بيننا و بينهم حهارا ليلا و نهارا فخرب فيها البقاع الثلاثه الكبيرة المشهورة حتى صرت كالفضا الواسع احدها البلدة الكبيرة اِكمه ثانتيها شوكية الاغافى ثالثتها البلدة اغوا واما خرب تلك البقاع الثلثة اصاب هم الغم العظيمٌ و معذلك خرب البلاد كلها و ايضا فقد نقل القوم لساكنين بكانمٌ الى بلد برَنوٌا حتى اهل البلد كَلُه الذى كان فى جهة اليمين العيدَةٍ من النحر و ما بقيت فى بلد كانم قبيلة من القبايل الذين اتوا الى بلد بَرنُوا البعض اَقوامهم و ما انوا الى برنوا عن طيب و اذعان قلوبهم بل بالخبر القاهر و الخوف الظاحر و لولا قبيله تُبّ الذين ارادوا تاكيد السلطان عبد الجليل و امانته لما سرنا الى كانم الا سَيرةً واحدةً و الله اعلم بحقيقة الحال.

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Kánem from Kelu*, and he pursued his march till he came to Listerí لِسْتَرِى a place which is stated to have belonged formerly to the tribe of the Kilábetí كِلَابِتِى and which contained a great number of cottages or tents كثيرة البيوت. I should believe that Kelu is the country of the Kaleáma in the south-eastern quarter of the Tsád, if anything were said about his having crossed Bárí and Kargha; but at least it is evident that it was a distant march of several days.

From Kelu, Edrís returned northwards, and fought a sanguinary battle with 'Abd el Jelíl, the Bulála king, before Kiyáyaka كِيَايَكَهْ (a little further on less correct كِيَاكَهْ).

Kiyáyaka was a district where the Bulála, after their other strongholds I'kima, A'ghófi, and Aghó had been destroyed, had built a new fortress, at the instigation, it is said, of the princesses. This fortification, or rather group of three different

* This passage is of the highest interest; and I therefore give the words of the author: —

الى ناحية اليمين من بلد كَلَّه مهلا مهلا الى ان جاوزوا النحر الذى بين كان لبلد كَلَّه و بين كانم و ما زلنا سايرين الى وصلنا البلد لسترى.

The author evidently speaks of a watercourse, and not of a dry valley; but it is not clear whether it be an independent river or part of the Tsád. Compare the passage in the preceding note, where he speaks about this same Kelu, and calls it العيدَةِ من النحر, and the note (*) on the following page.

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forts, Yekí يَكِى, Makaranna مَكَرَنَّهَ, and Kurkuriwa كُرْكُرُوَهَ *, became a large and important place, the Bulála transferring thither by force the inhabitants from all parts of Kánem, with the exception of those of Tetálúwa or Tetálú تَتالوا and A'fági افاقِهِ. † But principally they settled there all the Tebu, even the Keserdá (كَسردًا) most probably a mistake instead of Sakerdá, so that but few of this tribe remained behind in Kánem. The Bulála made, moreover, strict alliance with the people of the south (اهل جهة اليمين), the people of Kargha, in order to provide them with corn, which they bought with tobes and cattle. This intercourse ceased only when Edrís came to Ragharkú.

The battle which was fought near this important place of Kiyáyaka, was won by the king Edrís through his personal valour, after much slaughter on both sides, when he entered the town, and having encamped there for two days, all the time beating the drum, burnt the whole place.

* I give here this passage, which is curious: —

ان يبنوا الشوكية بالبلد كِيَايَكَه ـ فيها موضع يَكِى و موضع مَكَرَنَّه و موضع كُرْكُرَوَه و هكذا بنوا حدود الارض التى كانت ماصفة بالنحر من بلد كَلَّهُ و بنوا بالبلد الذه فيه الحصن الكثير فى كل قبلةٍ حصنا من الا شجار الا ناحية اليمين فقط.

† The first of these names is evidently connected with the name of the tribe of the Tetála, a section of the large nation of the Só or Soy, who, having been almost annihilated by this same king Edrís, retired into the swampy grounds of the Tsád, see Vol. II. p. 640. The name A'fági reminds one of A'fagé; but this is not a town of Kánem, and cannot certainly be meant here.

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From Kiyáyaka Edrís went eastward to Mi بلد مه

probably the place of this name mentioned above as belonging to Shitáti, although this would carry back the situation of Kiyáyaka very far westward, as from the author's words it appears that the distance between both places was considerable.

(Meanwhile his vizier pursued 'Abd el Jelíl to Kawál, evidently the place mentioned above;

From Kawál to Kuwáka كواكه

From Kuwáka to I'tanáwa, also mentioned on a former occasion.

From I'tanáwa, while 'Abd el Jelíl fled into the open desert, the vizier Edrís fell upon the Tebu and made great plunder. He went thence and joined his master the sultan in Mi, where they celebrated the 'Aíd el kebír.)

From Mi, Edrís returned to Kiyáyaka.

(From Kiyáyaka the king sent Farkama Mohammed to Kála كالَه الى البلد.)

Edrís himself went from Kiyáyaka to Gharikú, where he had a long conference with the Arabs.

From Gharikú he proceeded a great distance northwards on an expedition against the Tebu, while he sent the heavy part of his army to Njímiye.

Having vanquished the Tebu, he returned to Tínu تِينُه

From Tínu to Njímiye, south, from dhohor to sunset, and from morning to zawál.

In Njímiye the Tebu came to make their submission, and in the sansanne (evidently the fortified camp of his army), which the sultan then entered, he received legations from the inhabitants of Fittrí فِتْرِى اهل البلاد and from the Arab or Shúwa chief 'Ali ben Yerdha, and a messenger from the tribe of the Kúka من قبيله كوكو مِلِه (what Mili is I do not know, but

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suppose it to be the name of a particular spot or division of the Kúka). During his stay here he was plentifully supplied with corn by the Arabs.

(From Njímiye Edrís sent part of his army in pursuit of 'Abd el Jelíl, who had turned westwards, and then probably to the north, for the Bórnu men directed their course first to the northward, but, having gone to a great distance without finding 'Abd el Jelíl, gave up their pursuit, and ransacked the town Kiríwa كريوه

From Kiríwa they went to Máwó to wait for the sultan.)

Edrís himself went from Njímiye westward to Ghamirá غمرا made an alliance with its inhabitants.

From Ghamirá southward to (?*), and remained there some time.

From this place, which is somewhere in the south about Kargha, Edrís returned to Máwó, where he met his people.

From Máwó Edrís began his home-journey to Bórnu: —

First to Málehí مالهى

From Málehí to Múlí Ghim and Múlí Fúli

الى المولیین مولي غم و مولي فولِ

From Múlí to Súlú سولوا where he fixed his camp in a place called Fíyú فيو

From Súlú to Kesúdá كسودا

From Kesúdá, by the well-known places Róró, Sugurti, Bulúji, Ngughúti, to the celebrated place Ghátigha, or Ghátighi, near Berí.

From Ghátigha to I'tanáwa, starting at áser and arriving at 'ashá.

* Here is an omission in the text, p. 99.

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From I'tanáwa to Ruwáya.
From Ruwáya to Ghambarú.

FIFTH EXPEDITION.

Having spent ten days in his favourite place Ghambarú in great festivity, Edrís prepared another expedition to Kánem against the tribe of the Kenáníye قبيلة الكنانية. I have already spoken of this tribe on a former occasion*; and I must confess that I doubt whether the name Kenáníye be indigenous, but rather think that the people who bear it are identical with the Haddáda, or Bongu, who seem to have once formed a very numerous tribe, and may have been the original inhabitants of Kánem altogether. At that time the principal seat of this remarkable tribe was Súlú, the place mentioned already repeatedly, and were therefore generally known under the name of "the people of Súlú" اهل سولوا. But being afraid of the Bórnu king, whose wrath they had provoked by their predatory habits, they left their seats, while he was returning from Kánem, and retired to Kargha كَرْغَه.†

Edrís collected his army in Fakará about middle of Jumád I.

From Fakará he went to Dalikina دَلكنه; arrived at káila.

From Dalikina to Madáwa مداوَه; arrived at káila.

From Madáwa to Keri Kurúku كِرِه كُرُوكْ, arriving at noon.

From Keri Kurúku to Keri or Kuri Keramnú كِرِه كَرْمنُوه

* Vol. II. p. 277.

† The author adds the interesting words (p. 103.): —

وهو المكان المحاطى بالما من النحر ثاد الذى وراه الحشيش للرعي

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From Keramnú to Wurni وُرنِه, arriving at kaila.

From Wurni to Lebúdu, arriving at noon.

From Lebúdu to Kesúdá.

Then by Bulúji, Berí [erroneously written for Burrum], to Róro.

Having arrived at Róro at noon, he left it again at áser, said the prayers of mughreb at a ghadír called Kitanáka وكِتناكَه started again in the evening, and arrived at Síki about two o'clock in the morning.

In Síki he divided his army into three parts, one going with the keghámma southwards to Ríríkma ريريكْمَه and other places of the Kenáníye, another with the Yerímа, northwards, to Máy and the district thereabouts, inhabited by the same tribe.

Edrís himself took the middle road towards Dídí دِيدِى and other places in the neighbourhood, made a great plunder (about one thousand slaves), and then turned back.

From Dídí to Ríríkma, where he arrived at áser.

From Ríríkma he went and encamped near a celebrated ethel-tree which marked the very frontier of Kánem, having rested during the heat a couple of hours at the ghadír or pond of Kitanáka, where he arrived at zawál.

From the frontier (which must have been somewhere near Síki; see above) to Róro.

(From thence by the great road to Birni.)

From Róro to Burrum [here again by mistake Berí is written].

From Burrum to Bulúji.

From Bulúji to Fúrtu.

From Fúrtu to Melfífí (not a town, but a pond or basin الحوض المسمي بملفيفي), apparently not far from Berí.

From Melfífí to the place Merdalí البلد مردَلِي

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From Merdalí to Ghuwi Kefúkwa غُوِ كَفُوكُوَ, where he met a caravan of Bórnu and Tebu merchants with plenty of horses.

From thence to Ghíghir بغيغر المعروف البلد, starting at dhohor, and arriving at the end of áser.

From Ghíghir to Ghiskirú غِسكِرُوا البلد

From thence to Zamtam.

From Zamtam to Ghambarú, having crossed the river البحر الكبير

From Ghambarú to Birni, or Burni, in the evening.

The result of this expedition had been that the tribe of the Kenaníye, which had hitherto been the most numerous in Kánem, was entirely humiliated.

Last Expedition to the Borders of Kánem.

When Edrís received the news in Birni that Mohammed ben 'Abd Allah, whom he had made king of Kánem, had vanquished the Bulála king 'Abd el Jelíl, chiefly with the assistance of the Arabs, or Shúwa, and especially that of the powerful chief 'Alí ben Yerdha, he returned once more to Kánem in shawál, going —

From Ghambarú to Zamtam;

From Zamtam to Ghetú;

From Ghetú to Mílu;

From Mílu to Ledá لدا

From Ledá to Burkumúwa بُرْكُمُوَ

From Burkumúwa to Ghawáli غَوَالِهِ

From Ghawáli to Milti;

From Milti to Berí, here written بَرِيَهِ

From Berí to Ghayawá;

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From Ghayawá to Melhú مَلْهُوا

From Melhúwa to Dighimsil دِغمسل

From Dighimsil to Hughulghula حُغْلَغْلَه, near Dílaram دِيلَرَم

From Hughulghula to Róro;

From Róro to Kesúdá.

From Kesúdá to Síki, here distinguished by the surname دانمَه (*sic*).

Here he met the new king of Kánem, Mohammed ben 'Abd Allah, and had a conference with him on the subject of the borders of their respective kingdoms; and they stipulated that the whole of Keghusti and the whole of Síru (Shíri), as well as Babáliyá, should belong to Bórnu.* The latter condition, in particular, is of great interest.

Mohammed ben 'Abd Allah took an oath of obedience; and in conformity the officers of the Bulála took two oaths, — the first to the king of Bórnu, and the second to that of Kánem.

Having held a review of the army, Edrís returned by Síki, Róro, Dílaram, Bulúji, Ghayawá, Berí, Multi, Dídí, Mílu, Ruwáya, Berselma, Ghatawa, and across the komádugu النحر الجارى to Birni.

* فصار جميع كغُسطِه باقليمها من خط برنوا و كذلك جميع بلاد سِيرُه صارت بافا قها من نصيب بلدنا برنوا و كذلك صار البلد ببباليا من خط برنوا . . و اعطاهم سلطاننا من بقي من كانم لمحبة السلطان محمد بن عبد الله و لولا دلك ما اعطاهم شبرا من ارض كانم ابداً.

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APPENDIX III.

ACCOUNT OF THE VARIOUS DETACHMENTS OF CAVALRY COMPOSING THE BO'RNU ARMY IN THE EXPEDITION TO MU'SGU.

(*a.*) *The Shúwa or Native Arabs.*

Lawán Háji, the chief of the A'mjegé, who had his residence in A'mdagé.
Fúgo Dermán ('Abd e' Rahmán), from Bainge.
Fúgo A'digé, from Málemrí, one of the villages belonging to the district Wolóje.
Fúgo I'nus (Yúnes), from Malewá.
Fúgo Dermán, from Wólamsáy.
Fúgo Kóloné, chief of the Sárají, from Yelówenni.
Mai Ashé, chief of the Mayin, from A'shegrí.
Fúgo Pálama, from Pálamarí.
Fúgo Hamma, from Mágariyá.
Máfoníma, from Máfoní.
Fúgo Mohammed, from Aisárem.
Fúgo Kóre, from Keríngur.
Lawán Hámed, from Karawáru.
Lawán Mohammed, from Góbewó.
Fúgo A'dam, from Kajé.
Lawán Slímán, from Slímán.
Mai Kálama, from Kála.
Fúgo Hámed (generally called A'bú Dáúd) the chief of the Kohálema, from Kúmbedá, to the north of Yédi.*

* Each of these Shúwa chiefs had some hundred horsemen with him. Only two great chiefs did not join the expedition; namely Mohammed Kunéwu the chief of Shegáwu, and Lawán Gíbdo from Lerdó.

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Sheikh Sále, from Molút, with about 100 horse.
Sheikh Tauru, from Ngomáti.
Fúgo Bádawe, son of Háj Beshír, with a few horses.

(*b.*) *Kanúri, free men and slaves.*

	Light Cavalry.	Heavy Cavalry or Líbbedi.
Slaves of the Sheikh: —		
Kashélla Belál - - -	200	30
'Alí Marghí - - -	200	30
Kashélla Sále - - -	100	20
K. 'Abdelléhi ('Abd-Allah) - -	80	16
K. Zay - - - -	150	20
K. 'Alí-Déndal - - -	90	20
Three other petty officers, together, with - - - -	21	0
Slaves of the Vizier: —		
K. Játo - - - -	200	34
K. Khéralla - - -	150	20
K. Kóbtar A'jimé - - -	140	25
K. Háji Kakáwu - - -	80	15
K. Túmbedé - - -	100	18
K. Báso - - - -	40	10
Mounted Musketeers of the Sheikh: —		
K. Abdelléhi (different from the one mentioned) - - -	20	0
K Zérma - - - -	30	0
K. Mágaji - - - -	10	0
K. Bíllama (my friend) - -	32	0
K. Mállaré - - - -	20	0
Musketeers of the Vizier: —		
K. Méhemé - - -	10	0
K. Fatálla - - - -	8	0
K. Masúd - - - -	10	0
Háji Urfay - - -	100	16
Háji Ramadhán - - -	60	12
Bédawé - - - -	50	0
Malá Mása Mándará - - -	30	0

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	Light Cavalry.	Heavy Cavalry, or Líbbedi.
Yagha Ghaná	80	20
Mallem Chádeli	100	10
Mohammed Gájemí	60	1
Mohammed Bú 'Alagh	20	0
Legiwódda	40	8
Kashélla 'Omár	50	6
K. 'Omár Dóra	30	0
Wáseli (an officer of Mestréma the chief eunuch)	40	10
K. 'Alí Agún (attendant of Abaiso)	28	8
K. Bággar (another officer of the same)	40	0
A'mji (a man of Díghama)	30	1
K. Mohammed Marghí (an officer of 'Abd e' Rahmán)	80	5
Shitíma M'adu	30	0
Shitíma Yóma (governor of Yó, with the Mobber)	40	0
Shitíma Fugóma	50	0
Shitíma Zabeláuma	10	0
Shitíma Yáwama	40	0
Shitíma Bósoma	20	0
Shitíma 'Abdu	20	0
Shitíma 'Abadémma	10	0
Courtiers and partisans of the Vizier: —		
Gréma Milúd	200	33
Lamíno	150	21
Báshara (officer of Lamíno)	13	0
Dýnama Gajarémma	20	7
Sheikh 'Abbás	20	7
Hamza weled el Góni	60	3
Karaberíma	8	0
Balál	13	0
A'damu	8	0
'Abdelléhi Shíntiri	16	0
M'allem Malérama	6	0
Abrás	6	0
Kashélla Sa'íd (officer of M'allem Mohammed)	30	0

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	Light Cavalry.	Heavy Cavalry, or Líbbedi.
Abba Masta (son of the old sheikh Mohammed el Kánemí) - - -	60	10
Abba Bagar - - - -	90	13
Refáy - - - - -	90	16
Beshír - - - - -	10	0
Asan (grandson of Mohammed el Kánemí by 'Alí) - - - -	30	1
Kázelma - - - -	13	0
Yeríma - - - - -	5	0
E'rima - - - - -	10	0
U'noma (Tebu chieftain) - -	200	0
Fagodóma (chief of Koyám) - -	100	0
Murjúma (Koyám) - - -	80	0
Káúma* (Koyám) - - -	60	0
Senwa Babudma (Koyám) - -	40	0
Senwa Kindagoma (Koyám) - -	100	0
Kótoko (Kánemma chief) - -	30	0
Fúgo 'Alí (from Maduwári) - -	20	0
Zíntelma - - - -	10	0

Kanúri: — Light cavalry 4181, say 4500, as many small detachments are omitted; heavy cavalry 472, say 500.

Shúwa: — About 8000.

* An officer with this title, Káúma, is already mentioned in Imám A'hmed's history; he was most probably called so originally from the place Káú, or Kow, in Shitáti in Kánem.

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APPENDIX IV.

TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF THE PROVINCE OF LOGO'N OR LO'GONE

(Large places, most of them walled; at present, indeed, generally in a state of decay).

In the north-western part of the province: Kúndi, Gérle, Sína, Gódoní, Gemáng, Kókoñá, Kíddebá, Nguláwa, Mázerá, Delow, Kázeré, Unko-'alem, Thágulú, Kárse, Guwáfa, Díffil, another Thágulú, Múkhse, Gozenáke, Módeá (village of the mother of the ruling prince Y'suf), Biwál, Mágwy, Wanánukí, Mátke, Finálle, Suwántegá, Tsí, Mosóggolí, U'lesémme, Ngáme, Dúggulá, Kutteláha, Ngázi, Sáude, Jilbé, Tildé, Kála, Húlluf or Hélib, Waká, Kásesá, and others hereabout.

In the south-eastern part: Golónderá, Dégemé, Sígge, Bágeám, Bílle, Hóya, Hánnené, Wáza, Lábané, Gurfáy on the river, Chidé, Njéggere, Sigé, U'ltsemé, Sílim, Kábe 'lmadhé or the Western Kábe, Bágе, a place rich in ivory; Jínna, the largest town of the little kingdom after the capital, and important on account of the quantity of ivory there brought to market, and of the fine mat-work there produced*; Kalásimó, one day west from Jínna; Kábe demá or ngólo, the "large Kábe" forming the frontier-town towards Búgomán,—the frontier itself being formed by a swamp called Kénkang,—Sú, U'msa, Madeágo, Túmbalá, the largest place beyond the river, that is to say, the river of Logón or the Lagham; Mélé, to be distinguished from the place of the same name situated on the east side of the Shárí; Fuljí; Kuljí, with a governor who is almost independent; Fóngol and Mére, both on the river; Gófa, Diyá, Ngúltsemí, Wainálle, Jemádo, Wódeó, a large place; Ngóso, residence of a governor.

* See Vol. II. p. 620.

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APPENDIX V.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM LORD PALMERSTON.

"Foreign Office, October 7th, 1851.

"SIR,

"I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge and to thank you for your letter of the 19th of April last, from Kouka, in the Bornou country, in which you announce the lamentable event of the death of Mr. Richardson, on the night of the 2nd and 3rd of the preceding month of March, at Ungurutua, between Zinder and Kouka.

"The expedition being thus deprived of its head, just before the conclusion of that principal stage of its proceedings which was to terminate in the exploration of Lake Tchad, it appears to Her Majesty's Government that the completion of that exploration is alone wanting to enable them to consider as accomplished the main objects of Mr. Richardson's expedition.

"I am, therefore, directed by Lord Palmerston to state to you that, whenever you may have finished your survey of Lake Tchad and its shores, his Lordship wishes that you and Dr. Overweg should carry out the remainder of your projected proceedings in Africa exactly as you would have done if Mr. Richardson were still living, and you had separated from him as contemplated in the memorandum signed in triplicate in December, 1849, of which yourself and Dr. Overweg possess each a copy.

"At the period of your signature of that memorandum, you appear to have entertained the thought of pushing your further researches eastward towards the Nile, or south-eastward towards Mombaz.

"Whether you may still adhere to that project, or may now see reason to prefer a westerly course in the direction of

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Timbuctoo, I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to state to you that he will be perfectly satisfied to intrust to you the duty of carrying on to its final completion the expedition heretofore confided to the charge of Mr. Richardson.

"You will therefore consider yourself hereby authorised to take upon yourself the future charge of the expedition, and to pursue that course which, upon full consideration, may appear to you best fitted to effect the general objects which Her Majesty's Government had in view when they set on foot the expedition into the interior of Africa.

"Those objects you will find stated in the original instructions furnished to Mr. Richardson, of which a copy is herewith inclosed for your use and guidance.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"H. WADDINGTON.

"Dr. Barth."

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APPENDIX VI.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF WA'DA'Y.

In the chapter wherein we have treated of the history of Bagírmi, we have seen that the tribe of the Týnjur founded a large empire, which, as it consisted of an agglomeration of heterogeneous elements loosely connected together, was overwhelmed and torn to pieces in less than one hundred years after its foundation. The first part which separated from the body, comprises the eastern regions; Kúru, the third predecessor of Slímán, who was the first Moslim king of Dár Fúr, vanquishing the Týnjur, and vindicating the dominion of those quarters to the tribe of the Furáwy.

As for the centre of the empire of the Týnjur, it was overthrown by the founder of the Mohammedan empire of Wádáy, namely, 'Abd el Kerím, the son of Yáme, according to indigenous tradition, in the year 1020 of the Hejra.

Wóda, the son of Yáme, belonging to the tribe of the Gémir*, who at that time were settled in Shendy, and had embraced Islamism, had emigrated with his countrymen into the regions which afterwards, in honour of him it is said, were comprised under the name of Wádáy; and here he is reported to have exercised considerable authority in the empire of the Týnjur. His grandson, 'Abd el Kerím, is said to have been governor of certain provinces of the empire of Dáúd, who at that time ruled the empire of the Týnjur, though he had already felt the mighty hand of his eastern neighbour Slímán, the first Mohammedan king of Dár Fúr.

Instigated by a religious feeling, this man is said to have spent several years in Bídderi, a place about ten miles to the

* The derivation of this royal family from the 'Abbasíyin is altogether imaginary. I am in possession of a letter with the royal seal.

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east of the capital of the kingdom of Bagírmi, which at that time, however, does not seem to have existed; for Bídderi was one of the places in that region where people belonging to the widely-spread nation of the Fúlbe had settled from early times, and among them a family which, by means of undisputed sanctity and learning, had begun to exercise a considerable influence in the introduction of Islamism, upon a wide circumference of the surrounding provinces; and the head of this family, whose name was Mohammed, is said to have inspired 'Abd el Kerím, the grandson of Wóda, as well as his companions Amálek, chief of the Márfa, settled in Hóggené, Múmin the Masaláti, Dédebam the A'bú-Sharibáye, and Wúwel-Banán the Jellábi, with the idea of overthrowing the pagan dominion of the Týnjur, and of founding in its stead a new kingdom based on Islamism.

Having returned to his country, and spread his ideas of independence, 'Abd el Kerím, after some years, rose against his liege lord, Dáúd, and making Mádabá, a mountainous place situated about ten miles to the north of the later town of Wára, his residence, succeeded, after a desperate struggle, in laying the foundation of the kingdom of Wáday, as he called the country in honour of his grandfather. He is said to have died after a long reign, leaving as his successor his son Kharút, whom we may call Kharút the First. This is the king who founded Wára, and made this place, which is defended by natural ramparts (a circumstance which gave rise to its name, meaning "the town encircled by hills"), his residence. He, too, is said to have reigned several years, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Kharíf, who was not so fortunate as his father and grandfather, but, in the third year of his reign, was killed by the warlike tribe of the Táma, whom he endeavoured to subjugate.

The successor of Kharíf was Yakúb 'Arús, his younger brother, who felt himself strong enough to undertake an expedition into the interior of Dár Fúr, where, on account of the advanced age of its king, Músa, the son and successor of

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Slimán, the illustrious founder of that Mohammedan kingdom, he may have expected little resistance; but he was beaten, and obliged to make a speedy retreat. This prince was succeeded by his son Kharút II., who, during a reign of forty years, is said to have established greater tranquillity and happiness than were to be expected in a kingdom composed of such heterogeneous elements.

The son of this king was Jóda or Jáude, with the surname Kharíf e' Tímán, but better known under his honorary title, Mohammed Suláy or Sulé (meaning the deliverer)—a title which was given to him by his subjects in consequence of the victory by which he saved his country from the yoke of the Furáwy, who under the command of A'bú 'l Kásem, the second son of A'hmed-Bókkor, and the sixth Mohammedan king of that country, had overrun Wáday with a powerful army, in order to make it tributary. It is from this victorious king, who has made Wáday honoured and respected by its neighbours, that the country has received its other name, viz. Dár Suláy. It is likewise this king, who at the close of his reign wrested Kánem from the hands of the sultan of Bórnu, or at least the better part of it, by conquering Mandó or Mondó, the town of the Týnjur, as well as Mawó, the residence of a khalífa, invested by the sultan of Bórnu; and this is the commencement of the hostilities which are carried on between Bórnu and Wáday. Mohammed-Suláy is said to have reigned, like his father, forty years. To him succeeded his son Sáleh, with the surname Dérret, who has been almost unanimously represented to me as a bad sort of prince, although this seems to be owing to the circumstance of his having put to death a considerable number of úlama, a class of men who, in Wáday, enjoy great authority. This king hastened his death by giving offence to the mother of his eldest son 'Abd el Kerím, who belonged to the tribe of the Málánga; for, instigated by her, it is said, her son 'Abd el Kerím took the field against his father, while the latter, in the eighth year of his reign, had marched with an army against the Mádalá, the inhabitants of a place close to Mádabá, and not

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far from the seats of the Málánga, and after a sanguinary battle the son succeeded in vanquishing his father, who was killed in the year 1805. These are well-known facts, which cannot be denied.

'Abd el Kerím, better known under his surname Sabún, which he received at a later time, mounted the throne of Wáday, stained with the blood of his father, and began a reign which all agree in representing as one of the wisest ever known in this part of the world.

First, he enriched himself and his country by the spoil of Bagírmi, whose inhabitants were much further advanced in civilization than their eastern neighbours; and by their predatory expeditions to Dirki, had amassed a great deal of riches, consisting not only of fine clothes, and merján or coral, but even of silver, of which 'Abd el Kerím is said by trustworthy persons to have carried away with him five camel-loads, being equal to about fifteen hundred pounds' weight. It was also during his reign, as I have stated before, that Bagírmi became for ever a tributary province of Wáday. Having then founded a powerful kingdom, it formed the chief object of his exertions to establish a direct communication with the ports on the coast of the Mediterranean, in order to supply himself with those manufactures which, before the spoil of Bagírmi, had been almost unknown to the people of Wáday.

But to the account of the exertions of 'Abd el Kerím in this field, such as has been given by the late M. Fresnel, in his memoir on Wáday, I have nothing to add, as it no doubt formed the chief subject of his inquiries; but the account given by that gentleman of the king's death, and of the reign of his successor, is full of errors. 'Abd el Kerím Sabún died in the tenth year of his reign, which falls in the year 1815, in a place close to Wára, called Júnne, where he had collected an army, in order, as I have been assured by well-informed persons, to make war upon the ruler of Bórnu, or rather on the sheikh Mohammed el Kánemí; who, endeavouring to restore

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his adopted country Kánem to its former splendour, was anxious to rescue it from the hands of Wáday.

Sabún died so suddenly that he was unable to name his successor; but by all whom I have questioned on this point, I have been assured that the suspicion of poison is quite out of the question. Moreover, the circumstances as related by M. Fresnel are greatly misrepresented, Sabún having no son at all of the name of Sekeán; for he left six sons, the eldest of whom, of the name of A'sed, was born of a mother from the tribe of the Kóndongó, while Yúsuf, the second son, and three more sons of 'Abd el Kerím, were born of one and the same mother, who belonged to the tribe of the Mádabá. As for Jáfar, who, on account of his long residence in Tripoli, and his numerous interesting adventures, has become well known to the English public*, his mother belonged to another tribe.

When therefore Sabún had died, without naming his successor, the partisans of the tribe of the Mádabá arose against the Kóndongó, or the faction of A'sed; and having succeeded in vanquishing their adversaries, and slaying A'sed, they placed on the throne Yúsuf, with the surname Kharífáyín, a name which, however, is not generally known in the country. This Yúsuf, partly under the guardianship of his uncle A'bú Rokkhíyé, and partly by himself, after he had slain his uncle, together with Dómmo, the agíd of the Máhamíd, ruled for sixteen years in the most tyrannical manner over Wáday till, about the beginning of the year 1830, he was put to death at the instigation of his own mother, whose name was Símbil. There has never ruled over Wáday a king of the name of 'Abd el Káder; and Major Denham was quite right when, in 1823, he called the then king of that country the immediate successor of Sabún.

* See Mr. Barker's, or rather Lieutenant (now Rear-Admiral) Sir Henry Smyth's story of Jáfar in the United Service Journal, 1830.

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Yúsuf was succeeded by his infant son Rákeb, who after seventeen or eighteen months died from the small-pox, when a man belonging to a lateral branch of the royal family, namely, 'Abd el 'Azíz, son of Rádama, whose father Gándigin was a younger son of Jóda Mohammed Suláy, while his mother also belonged to the royal line, ascended the throne; and being supported by the warlike tribe of the Kódoyí (called by the Arabs Bú-senún, on account of their red teeth), among whom he had taken his residence, he succeeded in maintaining his position, in an almost continuous struggle with his adversaries. The first conflict which he had to sustain was against the Kélingen, who put forth, not Jáfar, the rightful claimant to the succession, but another pretender, named Kéde; they were, however, totally beaten, near a place in the vicinity of Wára, called Fólkotó.

'Abd el 'Azíz had hardly begun to enjoy some tranquillity, when the tribe of the Kóndongó, leaving their mountain seats, marched against him; but they likewise were beaten, and almost annihilated, in a battle fought near a place called Búrtay. 'Abd el 'Azíz, who has been represented to me by my informants as a man of excellent qualities, and of great intelligence, died likewise of the small-pox, after a reign of five years and a half, when his infant son A'dam was placed upon the throne, but, after a little more than a year, was dethroned, and carried into honourable captivity, into Dár Fúr.

The circumstances which led to this revolution were as follows. Mohammed Sáleh, not quite correctly named e' Sheríf, who had stealthily entered Wáday a long time previously, but had not been able to collect a party sufficiently strong to enable him to assert his claims openly as the brother of Sabún, had at length addressed himself to Mohammed Fádhl, the king of Dár Fúr, and, under promise of a considerable tribute to be paid yearly, had induced that prince to assist him in obtaining the kingdom of Wáday; and in the misery in which that country was just then plunged by a

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severe famine, it only required the assistance of two captains or ágade, viz. 'Abd e' Síd, and 'Abd el Fat-ha, to conquer Wádáy, while none but the Kámkolák of the tribe of the Kodoyí made a serious resistance, though without success.

Mohammed Sáleh, who thus ascended the throne with the assistance of a foreign power, in the month Tóm el awel, in the year 1250 H., may certainly be said to have exerted himself for the benefit of his country, though the last years of his reign have been rather unfortunate, as well for himself as for his subjects.

The first enterprise which he undertook in order to enrich his subjects, or perhaps himself, and with the purpose of extending his dominion, was an expedition against Kárká or Kargha, the district composed of islands and half-submerged meadow-lands and pasture-grounds in the south-east corner of the Tsád, which I have described in my account of Kánem, and from whence he carried away a great number of cattle. Perhaps, also, one reason why he undertook this expedition was the circumstance that another member of the royal family, namely, Núr e' Dín, who by Yúsuf and Fúrba was descended directly from Sáleh Derret, had retired into that swampy and almost inaccessible district, and, owing to the influence which he obtained over the neighbouring tribes, might have risen as a pretender at a future time. The next year Mohammed Sáleh marched against the Táma, that very intractable and predatory tribe settled in a mountainous district four days N.E. from Wára, and, having conquered them and slain their chief, invested another man with his authority; but the Táma having driven this person away after the king had retraced his steps, Mohammed Sáleh was obliged to make another expedition against them the following year, when he subdued them once more, and made them acknowledge as their chief a person called I'brahím.

After this, in the year 1846, he undertook that expedition against Bórnu, of which I have given a short account in the chronological table of the history of that empire, and which

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had been greatly misrepresented by M. Fresnel; for although he penetrated to the very heart of that country, he did not attain his object of reinstating the family of the sultan of Bórnu in its ancient right; and although he certainly carried away a great amount of spoil, yet he lost a considerable portion of his army, as well in the battle of Kúsuri as on his return home,—principally while crossing the Shárí.

However, on his return, the king turned his arms against the Tebu tribes settled on the Bahr el Ghazál; and, conquering them, subjected them to an annual tribute. Having returned from this memorable campaign, Mohammed Sáleh did not undertake a second expedition, but, having kept quietly at home for three or four years, was obliged to waste the strength of one part of his empire in a bloody struggle against the other.

The origin and reason of this civil war, which up to the time of my leaving Negroland kept Wáday in rather a weakened state, is to be sought for in the real or presumed blindness of the king, which gave to his adversaries the Kodoyí, who regard A'dam as their legitimate prince, some pretext for not acknowledging him any longer as their master, besides the general unpopularity produced by his avarice. It was on this account, in order to escape from his public and private enemies, that in the year 1850 he abandoned the old residence of all the former kings of Wáday, down from Kharút the First, and transferred the seat of government from Wára to Abéshr, a very inconsiderable place or village, about twenty miles to the south of Wára, where, on account of its being almost entirely destitute of water, and situated in the very territory of his partisans the Kélingen, he felt himself tolerably secure.

The contest, fomented for a long time, did not break out until 1851, when in the month of Shábán he was obliged to march against the Kodoyí, who, assisted by part of the A'byí or A'bú Sharib, awaited him in their mountains, from whence they rushed down upon him when he had closely approached

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them, on Friday the 9th of Shábán, with great impetuosity, and breaking through all his lines, and killing a great many persons of high rank, amongst whom was A'bú Horra, the blind aged brother of the king, and his own daughter Fátima, penetrated to his very person, and were on the point of slaying him, when his people succeeded in saving his life. But having become emboldened by this success, the enemy the next day ventured to leave their mountain fastnesses, and descended into the plain, and were in consequence overpowered by the greater numbers and the superior cavalry of the king's host, and, after a severe loss, which however cleared rather the ranks of their companions the A'bú Shárib than their own, sought refuge in the mountains. But notwithstanding this shock, received by them in the above-mentioned battle, which by the natives is called the battle of Tórbigen or Jálkam, being a warlike race, they have by no means given up their point, and were stated during my stay in Bagírmi to persist in the intention of renewing the struggle after the labours of the harvest should be over.

So far I have brought down the history of the country in the despatch which I sent home after my return from Bagírmi; and the remarks with which I then concluded my account of the history of Wáday have been since confirmed in a very remarkable manner. My words were: "The discord which at present prevails in the centre of Wáday is the more considerable, as the king Mohammed Sáleh seems to be on bad terms even with his eldest son Mohammed, the heir to the throne, who, having stayed behind in Wára, and being repeatedly summoned to appear before his father, is said to have retired to the southern parts of the country." A few months after I wrote these lines, we received the news of a civil war having broken out between the son and his father; and a long sanguinary struggle ensued, in which Mohammed, the son of Mohammed Sáleh, vanquished not only his father, but also his brothers, who were supported

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by strong factions, while he himself, being born of a woman who was not a native of the country, but a Fellatníye from Kordofán, had solely to rely upon his own energy and courage; and it is said that he committed great havoc amongst the principal men of the country. What the present state of the country may be I do not know; but I have been told that this king has been overthrown by one of his brothers. If Mr. Vogel, who, according to the latest accounts, has succeeded in entering this country, should be so fortunate as to escape with his life, we shall soon hear more about this interesting region.

Such is the short account of the history of Wádáy, as far as my inquiries in Bagírmi enabled me to learn it, and for the general accuracy of which I can answer, although it may be at variance with other reports. As for the character of the country, which has been thus united into one extensive kingdom, stretching in its greatest extent from W.N.W. to E.S.E., and reaching from about 15° east long. to about 23°, and from about 15° north lat. to 10° south, I shall here only give a very short view of the most characteristic features, leaving the particulars to the itineraries, as all the knowledge which we possess of the country is derived from them, and not from ocular inspection.

Wádáy Proper is rather a level country, but interspersed with a great many isolated mountains of a dry and sterile character, as it seems, without being capable of feeding constant springs of water, the only sources of whose existence in the country I have been able to obtain information, being those near the place Hámiyen, in the wadí Waringék; and even these are said to contain hot water. The whole country has an inclination from east to west — in other words, from the foot of Jebel Márra, in Dár Fúr, towards the basin of the Fittrí, the lake or lagoon of the Kúka, which receives all the moisture carried down during the rainy season by the smaller watercourses, and collected in the larger valley of the Bat-há; with the excep-

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tion as it seems of the wádí Kíya, which, running from north to south, next to the above-mentioned range of mountains, is stated by most of my informants not to have any connection with that basin, and may possibly join some branch of the Nile. In the northern part, where the country is bordered by desert tracts, there are several smaller watercourses or, as they are here called, "zaraf," which die away in the sands.

As for the country between (Lake) Fittrí and (Lake) Tsád, I have already shown it in another place to be an elevated district intercepting entirely the communication between the two lakes, or rather lagoons. The watercourses and valleys form the natural high roads, along which the dwelling-places of men are established.

With respect to the outlying provinces of the empire, which are situated towards the south, their character is evidently much more varied and rich in perennial watercourses than the nucleus of the kingdom; but inquiries with regard to these watercourses have not as yet advanced far enough to enable us to take a general view of them.

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APPENDIX VII.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF WA'DA'Y.

Wádáy in every respect is as yet a young empire, where the most heterogeneous elements subsist together side by side, with almost unrestricted power, weakening and debilitating the whole body. Nevertheless the variety of those elements in a territory of so considerable an extent as Wádáy is not at all marvellous and extraordinary in this part of the world, the number of the different languages spoken there not exceeding that of the different languages spoken in the circumference of Fúmbiná; and even in Bórnu, where, by a system of centralization, several tribes have in the course of time been almost entirely annihilated, the number of languages spoken at the present day exceeds fifteen.

As for Wádáy, there are first to be separated the two large groups of the indigenous or immigrant Negro tribes, on the one hand, and that of the Arab tribes on the other. I shall first consider the Negro tribes, of which I give a complete list, adding in each place a few observations with regard to their strength and their political power. As for their affinity to each other, little can as yet be stated with certainty, vocabularies of their languages not being at hand; and I myself was not able to procure more than three, namely, vocabularies of the language of the principal stock or the Mába, of the Kúka, and of the A'byí or A'bú Shárib. With regard to their dwelling-places, they will be better ascertained from the collection of itineraries than from this account.

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I will first consider that body of tribes which inhabit Wáday Proper, or rather Dár Mába, speaking one and the same language, called Bóra Mábang, of which I have been able to collect a tolerably complete vocabulary, comprising more than two thousand words, together with a great many phrases, including the Lord's Prayer. This group consists of the following tribes, or rather sections. First, the Kélingen*, inhabiting several villages, about one day south of Wára; the Kajánga, two days south of Wára; the Malánga†, to the N.E.; the Mádabá, and the Mádalá, close to the latter; the Kodoyí, or mountaineers (from "Kodók," the mountain), called by the Arabs "Bú-Senún" (in the singular form Sennawy), on account of their red teeth, which colour is said to be produced by the quality of the water in their mountain residences, where they preserve their vigorous bodily frames and their intrepid state of mind, and are unanimously acknowledged to be the most valiant among all the tribes of Wáday. The most conspicuous of their mountain seats, situated one day's march east of Wára, are Kúrungun, the residence of their chief; Búmdan, Mógum, Búrkulí, Mutúng, and Warshékr. Then follow the smaller sections of the Kunó, the Jámbo, the A'bú Gedám, the Ogodóngda, the Kawák, the A'shkitíng, the Bíli, the Bílting, the 'Aín-Gámara, the Kóromboy, the Gírri, settled in A'm-dekík, the people of Shéferí, the Mánga, settled in the district called Fírsha; the Amírga, settled in Máshek; the people of A'ndobú, those of Shíbi, those of Tára; all localities situated in the neighbourhood of Wára, and possibly a few others. All those I have mentioned are said to be entirely different sections, while the Kélingen, the Kajánga, the Malánga, and the Kodoyí, are the most numerous, the priority of the former consisting in nothing else than the precarious circumstance

* The name is written in Arabic كلن.

† Written ملك

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that the present mómó, or queen mother, who in Wáday exercises a certain influence, belongs to this tribe.

As for that tribe from which the kings of Wáday were originally derived, at least with regard to the male issue, these are neither the Kélingen, nor any other of those tribes constituting the group of Dár Mába, but one of an entirely different nationality, namely, the above-mentioned Gémir, to whom, from this reason, and not on account of their power, which is greatly diminished, I assign the second place as distinguished by a peculiar language.

I now enumerate the different clans of the A'bú Shárib, or A'byí, who, taken collectively, are stated to exceed the whole group of Dár Mába in numbers; but they seem to have so many different dialects amongst themselves, that one clan is said scarcely to understand the other, and can only make themselves intelligible by means of the Bóra Mábang, known to all the respectable persons of the country, to whatever particular tribe they may belong. I first mention the A'bú Shárib Ménagón and Márarít, who have one and the same language, of which I have been able to make a select vocabulary, comprising about two hundred words, together with a translation of the Lord's Prayer; and I must rank with them the Táma, who are positively stated to be nearly related to the former, though the seats of these two tribes are widely separated, the Ménagón and Márarít being settled about six days south from Wára, while the Táma, as has been stated above, inhabit a mountainous district four days to the N.E. of the capital.

This warlike tribe, distinguished principally by their ability in using the spear, seem at present to have lost, in some degree at least, their independence, for which they had been fighting for more than two centuries with success; for I'brahím, the chief imposed on them by the present king after they had driven back another person called Bilbíldek, whom he had invested, instead of their former independent chief E' Núr, who was executed by him, seems to be really

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installed in one of their principal dwelling-places, called Nanáwa. Indeed the Táma are said to frequent at present the markets of Wáday, while the "Kay Mába," or the people of Mába Proper, do not dare to visit theirs. The Táma possess a good many horses, but only few cattle.

After the Táma I range the A'bú Sharib Ngórga* and Dárna, settled to the east of the Ménagón and Márarít; the A'bú Sharib Kúbu, settled in Goñánga, close to A'ndabú; the A'bú Sharib Sungóri†, inhabiting a considerable district towards the frontier of Dár Fúr, intermingled with the Másalít—they are principally noted for their fine tall horses; the A'bú Sharib Shálí, close to the Sungóri; the A'bú Sharib Shokhén, inhabiting principally the well-known place of the same name; the A'bú Sharib Búbala, intimate friends of the Kodoyí, whose eastern neighbours they are; and, finally, the Wela Jémma, belonging likewise to the large group of the A'bú Sharib, but distinguished, as it is asserted, by a peculiar language.

After this group I rank the Másalít, who are said to be the most numerous next to the A'bú Sharib, and who may probably be found to have some affinity with the Sungóri, with whom they are promiscuously intermingled, although the state of barbarism into which they have sunk appears to be of the very lowest description, as they are even said to be guilty of devouring the flesh of human beings, an imputation made chiefly against that section of them established in the place called Nyéseré close to the frontier of Dár Fúr.

Having mentioned next in order to the Másalít, on account of the neighbourhood of their dwelling-places, the tribe of the 'Alí, I shall retrace my steps, returning to the neighbourhood of Wára, where I shall name first the Mímí, a tribe distinguished, it is said, by a peculiar language; and then rank a group comprising several tribes, the degree of whose affinity to each other can only be ascertained after vocabu-

* غرك. † سنكور.

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laries of their languages or dialects have been collected. These are the following tribes: the Moëwó* and the Márfa, the Kórunga or, as they are called by the Arabs, Káringa, and the Kashémeré. It seems probable that there is some kind of relation between these tribes and the Másalít.

I now enumerate the Kóndongó, a tribe formerly of considerable strength, but at present much debilitated by the struggle sustained by them against 'Abd el 'Azíz, and by a famine which befell them in consequence of that struggle. They are principally famous on account of the excellency of their weaving. I now mention as separate tribes or nationalities the Kábbága, to the S.E. of Wára, close to the Kúbu; the Múbi, on the Bat-há; the Márta; the Dermúdi or Darámdutú; the Bákka, or Welád el Bákhkha, close to Malám; the Birkit, near the frontiers of Dár Fúr, in which country they are more numerous; the Tála; Kajágse or Kajágase, near the S.S.W. frontier of Wádáy Proper; and not far from them the Týnjur, the remainder of that powerful nation which once ruled over all these countries; at present chiefly settled in Mágará, a place belonging to Dár Zoyúd.

I now mention the Kúka, settled principally along the lower course of the Bat-há, and in Fittrí, where, as far as regards language, they form one group together with the Bulála, separated from the other tribes of Wádáy as abovementioned, but intimately connected with the inhabitants of Bagírmi, with whose language, at least with regard to half of the elements of which it is composed, the language of the Kúka is identical.

After the Kúka must be ranked the Dájó, a tribe even at present, though their ancient power is gone, very numerous, and, as far as regards Wádáy, settled principally to the S.E. of the Kúka, with whom they have some distant affinity. Perhaps those elements in the language of the Kúka which

* The name is written ميو or مي.

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do not harmonize with the language of the Bagírmi people may be identical with the language of the Dájó. As for the relation between the Dájó and the A'bú Telfán, inhabiting a mountainous district two days S.S.W. from Bírket Fátima, we are likewise not yet able to decide; at least, as far as regards civilization, the latter seem to occupy a very low stage, and are considered by the people of Wáday as "jenákhéra," or pagans. They are very rich in horses and cattle.

In the province called Dár Zoyúd, on the middle course of the Bat-há, I have still to mention a separate tribe or clan, namely, the Kaúdara, residing in a considerable place called Kínne, and speaking a peculiar language.

Before enumerating the tribes inhabiting the outlying provinces to the south, who are only partly subdued, I shall first mention the Zoghâwa or, as the name is pronounced in Wáday, the Zokhâwa, and the Gurâán, two of the great divisions of the Tebu or Tedá, inhabiting the desert to the north of Wáday, who are very rich in flocks, and have become dependent on and tributary to the ruler of that country.

In the provinces to the south there are the Sílla, in the mountainous country S.S.W. from Shenîni; the Bándalá, close to Jéji; the Rúnga, inhabiting the country to the S.W. from Sílla, and fifteen days' march from Wára, and paying tribute as well to Dár Fúr as to Wáday; the Dággel, whose capital is Mangára, to the north from Rúnga and west from Sílla; the Gúlla, to the west from Rúnga, said to be of a fine bodily figure, and some of them copper-coloured: the Fáña, south of Gúlla; the Bírrimbírri, to the S.S.E. of Wáday; the Séli, south of Rúnga; and the Kutingára.

This is rather a dry list of the numerous tribes belonging to the black population of Wáday; and nothing but further researches into the interior of the country itself, and the collecting of vocabularies of their languages, can establish the degree of relation or affinity existing between them. As for the other large group, viz. the Arab population of Wáday, or the "'Arámka Dár Mábana," as they are called in the Wáday

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language—for the Wáday people never employ the term Shúwa or Shíwa, used in Bagírmi and Bórnu—it consists of the following tribes, who have been settled in Wáday for about 500 years. First (the most powerful and richest of them all, as well in camels as in small cattle), the Máhamíd, settled in the wádiyán to the north of Wára, principally in Wádí 'Orádha, two days' march from that place, but leading a nomadic life like all the others; and near to them the Bení Hélba, who are said to have been politically united with the Týnjur; the Shíggegát, partly associated with the Máhamíd, partly settled near Jéji; the Sébbedi; the Séf e' dín; and the Bení Hassan. The latter, whom we have met already in Bórnu and Kánem, where they are spread in considerable numbers—also in Wáday, are rather miserably off, a great many of them roving about Eastern Sudán, in order to gain something by their labour, while the rest wander, in the rainy season, to a place called E'tang, situated to the N.E. of Wára, between the Táma and Zoghháwa.

While all these tribes roam about to the north of Wára, I now class together those settled, at least part of the year, in the valley of the Bat-há. These are the Missiríye, the third tribe amongst the Wáday Arabs, in respect to numbers, and divided into two sections, viz. the Missiríye Zorúk, or the black (dark) ones, and the Missiríye Homr, or the red ones—Dómboli is the chief place of residence of the Missiríye; then the Khozám, the next in point of numbers; the Zóyúd, the J'aátena, the Zábbadé, and the 'Abidíye; to whom may be added the Nuw'aíbe, who keep more to the north of the Bat-há. Next in order may be named the Sábalát, a rather indigent tribe, who breed cattle for the king, and supply his household with milk. South of the Sungóri are the settlements of the Kórobát, whose chief place is Ténjing, east of Týnjung, which is two days from Sheníni. On the rich pasture-grounds, fed by a shallow water called the bahr e' Tíni, four days S.E. from Birket Fátima, there are the wandering tribes of the Kólomát and the Térjem;

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while towards the S.W. extremity of the empire, on the borders of another shallow water, probably without any current, and called after the tribe which I am just about to mention, there are the settlements of the Welád Ráshid, close to the eastern borders of the pagan dependencies of Bagírmi, and part of them settled even in the midst of those pagan tribes, principally amongst the Búwa Kúli, with whom they are said even to intermarry; they are particularly rich in horses of small breed, and possess considerable property.

Finally, there is another group of Arab tribes, who pasture their cattle near another shallow water, which seems to me to have likewise very little inclination, and is generally called O'm e' Timán, but very often named after the tribes who are settled on its borders. There are towards the east, not far from the Bándalá, the Sálamát, a rather numerous tribe; to the west of them the Hémád; and, finally, the Shárafa, who occasionally also visit the bahr e' Tíni. Besides these, in the western extremity of the empire there are the Dúggana or Dághana, who were in former times dependent on Bórnu.

With regard to their colour, all these Arab tribes may be distributed into two groups, namely, the "Zorúk," and the "Homr." To the first group — the dark-coloured tribes — belong principally the Missiríye, the Zorúk, and the 'Abidíye; while the Máhamíd, the Ráshid, the Khozám, the Hamíde, and the others mentioned above, constitute the far more numerous group of the Homr.

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APPENDIX VIII.

GOVERNMENT OF WADA'Y.

It appears, from the above exposition of the various elements of which the population of the country of Wáday consists, that its government cannot but be of a varied composition, and that it has not as yet assumed an harmoniously concentrated character. If we investigate the manner in which the government of this number of various nationalities is in general managed, we have first to observe that, no doubt in imitation of Dár-Fúr, the whole of the empire of Wáday is divided into four great sections: viz. the inhabitants of the western districts, or "Lulúl-endí;" those of the southern, provinces, or "Motáy-endí;" those of the eastern districts, or "Talúnt-endí;" and, lastly, those of the northern ones, or "Túrtalú." Over these four large departments or provinces a like number of Kemákel or Kamkoláks have been placed, the Kamkolák of the west, at present K. Nehéd, having his residence in Gosbéda, a village belonging to Máshek, three days W.S.W. from Wára; the Kamkolák of the southern districts, at present Mohammed, having his residence in Kúrkutí, two days south from Wára, on the Betéhá; the Kamkolák of the East, at present Abákr (Abú Bakr) Weled Méram, residing near the frontier of Dár-Fúr; and, finally, that of the north, at present Sheikh el 'Arab, son of Tondó, residing in Mégeren, about twenty miles north from Wára.

Besides these four principal governors or Kamkoláks, there are four smaller ones, called Kamkolák-endikrék, who appear to be the substitutes of the former, but seem besides to have some particular duties to perform. Their names at present are Kamkolák Násr, belonging to K. Nehéd; K. Hejáb, stationed in the south; K. Kélingen, and Kamkolák Rákeb.

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These Kamkoláks in general have the management of all public affairs in the provinces, and have the power of life and death, and wherever they go they levy the "dhiyáfa," properly the present of hospitality, a sort of tribute regulated according to the size of each respective place. However, they seem to have nothing to do with the Arab population, and even with regard to the indigenous tribes there are many exemptions from their authority, several of those clans, especially the Táma, the Kodoyí, the Bulála, the Míddogó, and some of the A'bú Sháribs, having powerful chiefs of their own, and some of the pagan tribes having retained their former princes. Moreover, a great many of the places inhabited by indigenous tribes have been allotted to the A'gade or Agíds, who were originally appointed as governors over the Arab tribes, so that on military expeditions the Kemákel have not nearly so large a force under their command as the A'gade.

Besides, as far as regards the eastern districts, a particular Agíd e' sybba (sábah) has been appointed, who exercises a distinct function from that of the Kamkolák of the east, and has his residence in Bír-Tawíl, a place near the frontier of Dár-Fúr, though originally his authority extended only over the Kórobát.

The following is a list of the present agíds or ágade, together with the tribes over which they rule, and the chiefs each tribe has of its own.

Name of the Agíd.	Name of the Chief.	Name of the Tribe over which they rule.
Jérma, nephew of Mohammed Sáleh -	'Abd e' Salám Hagar -	Máhamíd.
	Mállem Búrma* Dendáni† - -	Bení Helba.
	Khamís Weled Zébe -	Zébbedí.
	Tamóki - -	Shíggerát.
	Goddúm - -	Séf e' Dín.
		Bení Hassan.
	Músa Khabásh -	Welád Jenúb.
	Sherf e' Dín - -	Maharíye Welád 'Alí.

* Residing in Gálum Kúsha.

† Residing in A'm-Sidr, a zaraf, one day N.W. from Wára, and about the same distance from Gálum Kúsha.

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Name of the Agíd.	Name of the Chief.	Name of the Tribe over which they rule.
Mágené - -	Yaríma - -	Missiríye Zorúk.
Dágga - -	Magáddam - -	Missiríye Homr.
(Kamkolák Nehéd) -	Allajád - -	Zoyúd.
Mámmedí - -	Riyát - -	Nuwaíbe.
Fadalállah (Fadhl-Allah) - -	Sheikh Sáleh - -	Jáátena.
	Al Bahér - -	Dúggana.
Jérma Shógoma -	(Not known to me) -	Khozám.
Hanno - -	Dilla - -	Hamíde.
	Rádama - -	
Barka Méser - -	Sindur - -	'Abidíye.
Jérma 'Abd el Asíz -	Sáleh - -	Kólomát.
Gádi - - -	Fákih Yakúb -	Térjem.
Bakhéd, Agíd e' sybba	(Chief not known) -	Kórobát.
Sáid - - -	Diyáb, with the surname "Sídí Jénún" -	Sálamát.
	Rekék, whose daughter is married to the king	Sháraía.
	Jedd el Móla -	Hemád.
Horr - - -	Sheikh Anje - -	Sábbada.
Danna - -	Halíb, a woman -	Ráshid.
(Not known) - -	Máfer - - -	Sábalát.
'Abd-el-Wáhed -	Diyáb - -	Debába, a section of the tribe of this name.
Fákih 'Alí, or 'Alío, called Agíd-el-bahr; his father Beshára died at Kúsuri -	A'dim, next to whom in authority is Kharith	Asále'.
		Tebu Tribes.
	A'b Kashélle - -	Kréda.
Bírre - - -	A'bú Nakór - -	Shinnakóra, Sákerdá, Sákeré, Madamée, Fámálle.

These agíds, the most powerful of whom is Jérma, to whom the half of Wáday is said to belong, exercise a very great authority in times of peace, as well as in case of war; for they have not only to inspect the state of their respective districts, and to collect the tribute, but they have also to assemble the troops, and lead them into battle; and they are continually undertaking great expeditions on their own account. After Jérma, the agíd el bahr, to whom Moíto, the north-easternmost town of Bagírmi, has still to pay a special tribute,

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besides the general one which Bagírmi pays to Wáday, is the most powerful on account of his numerous cavalry; then follows, it seems, the Agíd of the J'aátena, and Dúggana. The Agíd-e'-sybba, is very unpopular on account of the extortions and vexations to which he is continually subjecting travellers and pilgrims, who on that account shun his territory as they would the haunt of a wild beast.

Each of these agíds has a khalífa, or substitute, called agíd-el-birsh, whom he sends into his province if he does not wish to go himself, and some of whom exercise considerable authority by themselves; and besides this person an Emín is also added, on the part of the sultan, in order to inspect and control the collection of the tribute, and to see that the due proportion, viz. half of the dhiyáfa, is sent to the sultan.

Tribute.—The tribute or tax, called here "diván," varies greatly according to the wealth and character of the productions of the several districts. But as a general rule, an inhabitant of any town in Wáday Proper, besides occasional contributions or presents, has to pay for himself two mudd—a measure containing twenty-two handfuls of corn, or rather dukhn; and, together with the other inhabitants of his town, a certain number of camels; while with regard to the Arabs, every chief of a family has to give a káffala of two heads of cattle every third year, and if he be a fákih, but one. But besides this general tax, there are some smaller ones for the black natives; as, for example, on each of the great Mohammedan holidays, every village has to present to its Ajuwádi, that is to say, to the person upon whom it has been settled as an estate, one makhaláye—a measure containing three mudd or medád—of dukhn, and has also to make the same present to an officer in the palace called "Sídi-e'-derb," as well as to the "Sídi-el-alboye;" the larger villages or towns have to give more in proportion, as much as ten mekháli; and besides this, on bringing their tribute to the king, the smaller villages have to present their Ajuwádi with one camel-

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load of dukhn, and the larger ones with more. The native negro population of Wádáy Proper have not to pay any cattle or tokáki (strips of cotton), except at the special request of the king; but certainly with them also the various character of the productions of the district, and the wealth they possess, are taken into account; the Sungóri, for instance, whose excellent race of horses I have mentioned above, are said to pay every year a tribute of one hundred horses; and the tribute of the Gémir and the Týnjur is entirely confined to rice — wild rice — with which they have to supply the household of the king.

As for the Arabs, besides the general tribute or káffala mentioned above, they have to give to the king himself the "nóba," that is to say, once in three years, every four men, one cow; and on each holiday, every encampment has to furnish a young cow; and besides this, they are greatly annoyed by the expensive dhiyáfa, which, as I have stated above, they have to present to the agíd-el-birsh on his annual visit, while on the whole it is well known that the Wádáy people keep the Arabs settled in their country in very strict subjection, and do not allow them to collect any considerable property for themselves. As for the Máhamíd, they pay their tribute entirely in camels, and are said to make up every third year the number of one thousand camels, while the 'Abidíye, who have very little cattle for themselves, but breed cattle for the king, have to pay their tribute in butter.

With respect to the indigenous tribes in the outlying provinces of Wádáy Proper, the tribute or diván imposed upon them varies greatly. For example, the Dájo have to give 1000 tokáki, besides honey, wherein consists the whole regular tribute paid by the provinces of Dággel, Kebáit, and of the Bándalá; while Sílla, besides honey, has to furnish a certain number of handsome female slaves; and Rúnga, in addition to a certain quantity of this favourite article (viz. honey), 100 large elephants' teeth every year, or half of the value in slaves. The tribute of Gúlla, and of the adjacent pagan

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states, consists solely of slaves. As for the Tebu tribes, the Zogháwa have to furnish a certain number of horses, while the tribute raised on the Gurâán, as far as they are dependent on Wádáy, consists of camels.

Here, finally, I have to mention the diván paid by the king of Bagírmi, down from the period when 'Othmán, father of the present ruler of that country, solicited the assistance of Sabún, in order to reconquer his country from the fácha, as I have stated in my account of Bagírmi. This tribute, which was levied the very year of my residence in Más-eñá, consists of 100 horses of indifferent description, 100 slaves, 30 serári or handsome female slaves, and 1000 shirts, or gumsán. This tribute, the whole value of which, in Bagírmi, is from 2500 to 3000 dollars, is paid every third year, besides a present of 10 serári, 4 horses, and 4 gumsán to Jérma, Weled el Méram, who has the superintendence of this dependency. For there is a superintendent, or as the Wádáwy call it a "Kursí," for every province without the borders of Wádáy Proper; and Jérma, besides having all those Arab tribes above mentioned under him, is the Kursí, not only of Bagírmi, but likewise of the whole Fittrí, of the Dájó, and of Míddogó. The present Kursí of Runga, whose name is Sheríf, has his residence in Sheníni, which, together with the neighbouring villages, has to furnish him with necessaries, and he visits that province annually, in order to levy the tribute. The Welád Ráshid also, partly owing to their considerable distance from the capital, and partly, as it would seem, on account of their being deeply sunk in paganism, although they have a special agíd, have likewise, together with the Sálamát, had a kursí established over them.

The Fásher and Members of the Fásher.—After having given this short account of the external government of the country, if I may so call it, I now proceed to the interior; but, as there is naturally no civil government, I content myself with naming the persons composing the Fásher, or

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Royal Council, where the present sultan Mohammed Sherif however never appears. This council is held in an open place, which is likewise called Fásher, where all public business is transacted. The president of the Fásher, and the first of the "Fásher-melé" or members of the Fásher in authority, is the Sing-melék, or, properly speaking, the master of the gate, but whose character and authority evidently approach those of a vizier, all business, as far as regards the internal operations of government, being principally transacted by him. The present Sing-melék is said to be a person of intelligence, of the name of Ashén, the younger brother of the powerful Jérma, Weled el Méram, who surpasses him in material power and wealth. But with regard to the composition of the Fásher this Jérma is to be ranked next to Sing-melék. Then comes Kamkolák Rákeb, who appears to have the authority of a major-domo, then Emín 'Abd-Alláhi, a brother of Sing-melék, who is the inspector of the shirts, that is to say, the private treasurer of the monarch; next in order is Kursí A'bú Bakr, son of A'bú Horra, the person mentioned above, at present stationed in the territory of the Kodoyí; Kursí 'Abd-Alláhi, who has the inspection of the Welád Ráshid; the Agíd el Máhamíd; the Agíd of the Welád Ráshid; the Agíd el Jáátena; Agíd e' Sálamát; Agíd el Khozám; Agíd el Birsh; Agíd el E'ddería; Maigenék, a person whose duty it is to proceed with his troop in advance of the sultan, in case of an expedition, like the Jérma in the Bórnu army; Kamkolák Mohammed Wókilík, K. Nehéd, K. Tandó, K. A'bú Bakr, Agíd el 'Abidíye, Kursí Rúnga, Agíd e' sybba; K. 'Atamán ('Othmán), Agíd Ammárga, an officer of the household, Agíd Sálem, inspector of the corn supplied to the palace, Agíd Yúngo, likewise for the interior, Milleng-díme, khalífa of the Kamkolák of the southern provinces, Milleng-túri, Khalífa of the governor of the eastern districts, Mohammed Jégeles, khalífa of the agíd of the Máhamíd, Mohammed Dahába Bódda, substitute of Kamkolák Mohammed, khalífa Fód, whose station is towards the S.; Kubár, an Ajuwádi,

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who has his residence in A'bgudám, eleven days S. from Wára, and others of minor authority.

The order in which I have enumerated the members of the Council, is nearly that of their rank. As for the Mómó, or queen mother, she is sometimes asked to give her opinion, but she never appears in the assembly.

Army.—I shall add but a few words concerning the military department. After various minute inquiries, I think I shall not be wrong in stating the cavalry of Wáday, in which, as in almost all these countries, the strength of the army consists, at seven thousand horse. Of these about one thousand appear to be clad in coats of mail or "derret," while, on account of the communication with Ben-Gházi, the number of these coats of mail are annually increasing, every caravan bringing several camel-loads of them, which sell for one or two female slaves apiece. The horses are said to be excellent; and exposed as they are to storm and heat, never enjoying the protection of a roof or shade, they are able to support the greatest fatigue, while at the same time those of the great men at least are said to be fed sumptuously with rice and milk. All the horses of the sultan, which bear the special title of "aruwáil" (*sing.* rawáil) have each of them a particular name. The number of muskets in the army is very small, the Wádáwy themselves having assured me that there are not more than about 300; for the strength of the people of Wáday consists in their spears, while the Fúráwy trust almost entirely to their swords.

As for the commanders on an expedition, their rank, according to the number of the troops which they lead into the field, is as follows. After the sultan and the Sing-melék, certainly nobody can emulate Jérma the agíd of the Máhamíd, after whom follows Jérma 'Abd el Azíz, and then Kamkolák Rákeb; these are free men; then follow the slaves, viz. the powerful agíd el Bahr; then Fadalálle, the agíd of the J'aátena, Sáid, agíd of the Sálamát; then

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Dánna; Dágga, who is the E'dderí of the army, that is to say, he has the command of the rear; then Mágené; El Horr; Hánno, the Agíd of the Hamíde, who is not a slave, but a native of Wáday; Jérma Shógoma; Káffa, and others.

There are several captains of the sultan's own cavalry with the title of Jérma: as Jérma Angarútú, Jérma Dhohob, J. Rebek, J. Ḳaukob, J. Hassan, J. Siyáde, J. Dháhab, J. Fudhl, who has his station generally in Kánem, J. Mongó, and J. Benáy.

Household of the Sultan.—The principal persons composing the household of the sultan of Wáday are the kolótus and the mérams, the former title being given to every son of the monarch, and the latter to all his daughters. Of kolótus there were during my stay in Bagírmi five. Mohammed, the heir apparent, who already at that time was said not to be on good terms with his father, was born of a Púllo or or Fellatníye woman, whom Mohammed Sáleh married in Kordofán, and for this reason the greater part of the people of Wáday did not wish him to succeed to the sovereign power. 'Alí and A'dim were born of one and the same mother, Mádem Shékoma. Khodr, the third son, and Makhmúdi, are by another mother. After the kolótus and mérams follow the hábbabát, or, as the Wádáwy call them in their own tongue, elísi (*sing.* elík), the wives or concubines of the sultan, of whom Shékoma and Sokáy were said to be the favourites.

The officers who have the management of the household of the monarch, or part of it, under their inspection, are as follows: the barákena-kolí, meaning royal servants in general; the deláli-kolí, or "siyáde el alboye," who have to make and repair the tents; the tuwerát, or messengers; the motór-melé, or bearers of the spears; the tangna-kolí, or pages and chamberlains; the ayál-legedábe, or messengers waiting in the shed or hall, "legedábe," for the occasional orders of their master; then the kórayát, or siyád el khél, the masters of the horses, the gárrafín, or "siyád el

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kholgán," the masters of the shirts and "tokáki," and, finally, the ártu (*sing.* arak), or, as they are called here, shiúkh, the eunuchs, or the masters of the female department.

Character of the Towns and Villages.—The dwelling-places throughout the whole extent of Wáday are in general small; and I have been assured by the natives themselves that there is no town containing one thousand separate dwellings. Indeed Wára, till recently the capital and residence of the monarch, which in 1852, on account of the seat of government having been transferred to Abéshr, was every day becoming more and more deserted, scarcely contains above four hundred houses, while Nimró, the famous seat of the Jellába, is stated not to exceed two hundred. In general the towns or villages of the Kodoyí are said to be the largest, some of them containing as many as six hundred houses, while those of the Mímay are said to be the smallest. But the largest place in the whole of Wáday is said to be Kódogus, two days west from Sheníni.

The houses or huts consist, like those of all the rest of Negroland, of groups of round, bell-shaped huts, made of reed, and called "máharéb," or "samavi," in the Wáday language, inclosed by a wall or fence, "sherágena-dalí," and but very rarely, as is the case with the houses of the king and those of the persons of rank on one side and the Jellába on the other, built of clay. But the Arabs live in portable huts, made of mats which they themselves manufacture of the leaves of the deléb-palm, and which are called "réri" by the Wádáwy.

Commerce and Market-places.—Almost all the commerce, on a large scale, which is carried on in Wáday, is in the hands of the Jellába; a considerable number of this peculiar stock, whom I have not classed above among the various tribes inhabiting that country, having migrated into Wáday about a hundred years ago, from the valley of the Nile, and principally, though not exclusively, settled at present in Nimró, a place about eight miles S.W. from the former capital.

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Separated into several bodies, these merchants by birth have each of them his own route of commerce; thus, there is one body of Jellába who go annually to Rungá; another body frequents the copper-mines south of Dár-Fúr; others take their merchandise only to the distant provinces towards the S.W., viz. the territory of the Welád Ráshid and the neighbouring pagan countries on the borders of Bagírmi, namely, Bedánga, Gógomi, A'ndi; while others, again, visit the markets of Bagírmi, Logón, and Bórnu; some of them visiting Más-eñá during my residence in such numbers that they built a considerable village for themselves outside of the town, on the road to A'bú-Gher; while another band visits annually the markets of Dár-Fúr and Kordofán, others, and especially the wealthier individuals, frequently follow the recently-opened caravan-road to Ben-Ghází, of whose history M. Fresnel has given such an elaborate account. Each of these bodies when *en route* has its chief or agíd appointed over them by the sultan, to whom he is responsible for a handsome tax raised on the profit obtained.

The principal objects of this commerce in general are the following articles: salt, brought by the Máhamíd and the Tebu to Nimró and Wára, and bought by the Jellába in large quantities, in order to be sold by them in detail to the most distant provinces — even as far as Logón; copper, brought chiefly from the famous copper-mine "el Hófrah," and from Runga, and exported, principally to Bórnu, where it fetches a high price; European articles, brought by the caravans from Ben-Ghází, or imported also from Egypt by way of Dár-Fúr, such as fine clothes, bernúses, coats of mail, beads, and other ornaments, calico, paper, needles, &c., ivory, principally taken in exchange from the Rungáwy, the Welád Ráshid, and in Bagírmi, in order to be exported, with very great profit from Wára to Ben-Gházi; asses, of the Eastern breed, very much in request in the western part of Sudán; túrkedí; tobacco; kóhol; and sundry other articles brought by the retail merchants of Háusa to Bagírmi, where they are taken

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in exchange by the Jellába. Slaves, as in the whole of Sudán, are certainly the most important article of commerce.

With regard to the market-places, I have to observe that there is no considerable market-place in the whole of Wádáy where a person might find the productions of the different parts of the country collected together, neither at Wára nor at Nimró, nor in any other place, and one has to go some distance in order to supply himself with the necessaries of life. Thus the people of Wára, as well as the Máhamíd, when they wish to lay in a provision of dukhn, which is their principal food, have to go to Gírre, a place a little to the west of Nimró, or to the villages of the Kodoyí; or else they go to the settlements of the Kashémeré, such as Kúldi, Bútir, Kúndungó, Kornayé, Héjir and others, while in the southern districts dukhn is bought at the cheapest rate in Abker, Gnamúniya and Mistakhéde, and in the valley of the Bathá; principally in Dumbóli, Rás el fíl, Summúkedúr, Agílba, in a village called Kósiwáhed ("one hut") and in Asáige.

The standard price of every article is the tokíya (*pl.* tokáki), a term signifying two long strips of cotton, measuring eighteen dr'a in length, and three wide, made of smaller strips, which, however, far surpass those used in Bagírmi, Bórnu, and all the western parts of Sudán in width, though they are much coarser. This is the currency of Wádáy, and with it all the smaller bargains are made, while the larger ones are made in cattle, in which consists the chief wealth of the Wádáy people in general, or in slaves; dollars have only lately been introduced by the Ben-Ghází merchants. One tokíya will fetch, it is said, three or four sheep, with the Máhamíd, who, as has been stated above, are very rich in small cattle, and where consequently they are the cheapest; and about thirty ewes will fetch a cow, while from twelve to fifteen cows are said to buy a good horse. As for the price of corn, one tokíya is said to buy from four to five wéba —a measure eight of which constitute a bullock-load of dukhn—at the time when it is dearest, and six after the

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time of the harvest; while a cow is said to fetch from thirty to thirty-six wéba, but the bullock only from sixteen to twenty.

Manufactures and Productions. — It is clear that in a newly-founded kingdom, such as that of Wádáy, composed of a mere agglomeration of almost entirely barbarous tribes, there can only be very few manufactures, or rather none at all, except the roughest productions of industry, such as weapons and rural implements, made from the iron found in the country, while, besides iron, copper alone is found, namely, in Runga, and in small proportion in the wádí called Jélingák. Indeed the Wádáwy themselves do not even know how to make use of the fine indigo found in their country, in order to dye their clothes, or rather their shirts, as there are very few persons who are able to afford anything better than this most essential article of dress. It is even stated that before the time when the considerable spoil was carried away from Bagírmi by 'Abd el Kerím Sabún, the great majority of the people of Wádáy were clad in nothing but the well-known fáruwá. As for the business carried on with indigo, it is entirely in the hands of Bagírmi or Bórnu people established in Wádáy; but the Bórnu people are the most famous and numerous, and their settlements in the country, to which great importance is attached on this account, are the following:—The greatest fame for giving the finest tint of indigo to the clothes has been obtained by the inhabitants of Jemíl e' Síd, a place situated two short days S.W. from Wára, and second to it is Bírbashón, another settlement of Bórnu people, situated between Jemíl e' Síd and Wára; west from Jemíl e' Síd, there is another dyeing settlement called Shálla, and close to it Léyin, and likewise Birén, a somewhat larger place, situated on the Betéhá, two day S.W. from Wára. Other Bórnu dyers are established in Karríngalá (two days south of Wára), and in Dérdigí (one day south from the former), while others, again, have settled

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in Kélingen Méser, a place situated in the district of the Kélingen. But nevertheless a black or blue shirt is a great luxury in Wádáy, and a mark of distinction for persons of rank; indeed, when on their expedition against Bórnu, as related above, the Wádáwy satisfied themselves by tearing the black shirts from the backs of all the Bagírmi or Bórnu people they could lay hold of, instead of leading the persons themselves into captivity.

Learning.—Certainly no one will look for any great amount of learning in such a country as Wádáy; but the Wádáwy fákihs and 'ulama are the most famous of all the nations in Sudán for their knowledge of the Kurán, the Fúlbe or Féllani not excepted. But besides, they possess several small books or tracts which are generally read as well as the Kurán, partly for grammatical, partly for religious instruction, namely, Nóh, Elfíye, Khalíl, Resála, A'khdar-Mandhúm, A'khdar-Mansúr, Bakádi, Ta'alík, A'bú-el-Hassan, Thamán al jénne, 'A'jeli or A'ujeli el kúbbara, A'ujeli-el-ustha, and others. As for the Sheríya, it is exercised with ability by these fákihs or doctors; but the Siyása, or the usage of the country, has greater authority than the book.

The greatest doctor in Wádáy, at the present time, is stated unanimously to be a man belonging to the A'bú-Shárib, and generally known merely under the name of Fákih-el-bahr, who spent many years with Mohammed Sáleh, when he was wandering homeless about; and probably on this account was not put to death by the fierce king who has executed a considerable number of learned men, and among others, the Sheikh-el-Herán, a great doctor, belonging also to the more spirited tribe of the A'bú-Shárib, on the pretext that he had betrayed him to his enemies the Kodoyí, he likewise executed the great and learned Imám Mohammed Gírga.

Food.—I shall conclude this notice of Wádáy with a few observations on the food of its inhabitants. As in most

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parts of Sudán, it consists principally of dukhn or pennisetum typhoïdeum; but they have also some wheat and rice. The people of Wádáy have a plentiful supply of meat, and are tolerably well provided with milk and butter, and are therefore not obliged to have recourse every day to that insipid broth made of dried and powdered fish, formed into a sort of loaf, and in this form called "méndichék," the dried fish, preserved in its natural form, being called "fértené." On the contrary, they have a tolerably good variety of dishes, of which I shall give a short list, without, however, being able to explain the exact preparation of each. But first I must observe, that the people of Wádáy do not make any use of the funduk or kárru, the large wooden mortar so exclusively used over other parts of Negroland, but grind their dukhn on stones, their country being rather of a stony character, while in many parts of Bórnu and Bagírmi not a single stone is seen. As far as the dishes are prepared of dukhn, the following are the principal ones: first the damírge, the common daily dish; then masáffa, a very favourite dish in Wádáy; reshéfa, another dish of dukhn, prepared with milk; takárin, prepared with the fat of oxen, instead of milk; kíssere, denási, amkóshu, súri, kókor, 'ajíne amráfa, rotóto, and subáy; another dish made of sesamum and called amkeleño. Then their various sweetmeats, as the kíllikáb, prepared with corn and honey; the matábba, made of rice and honey; the kák, made of corn, or rice, with butter, honey, and dates; the 'ajíne zérka; and, finally, the fáworó, made of dates boiled in milk and then left to cool. Of the dishes of meat, the wéka, and the shaham el kebél are the most celebrated. As for drinking, it is well known that almost all the people of Wádáy indulge in an intoxicating beverage called merísa by the Arabs, of which there are three species,—the bilbil or red, the ákebésh or white, and the "hal."

I cannot conclude this account of Wádáy without stating that the whole of it was drawn up in Bagírmi in the yĕar

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1852. I did not see *Le Voyage au Ouadáy*, published in 1851, by Jomard et Perron, till 1855, and have not changed a word in it. The account of the Sheikh el Túnsí is extremely valuable with regard to the private life of the people, but full of exaggerations with regard to public affairs; for example, the strength of the army, the tribute paid by Bagírmi, and so on.

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APPENDIX IX.

COLLECTION OF ITINERARIES FOR FIXING THE TOPOGRAPHY OF WA'DA'Y, AND THOSE PARTS OF BAGI'RMI WHICH I DID NOT VISIT MYSELF.

1. Roads from Más-eñá to Wára, E.N.E.

(*a.*) *Route of Háj Bú-bakr Sadík of Bákadá, who performed this journey three times. March, about six hours per diem.*

1st day. Baláwu, a large Bagírmi place with a sheikh of its own; pass Bídderi on the road,—the place mentioned repeatedly in my journey.

2nd. Dílfin, a Bagírmi place. The wells all about here are deep.

3rd. Kínji, the last place of Bagírmi Proper, already mixed with Shúwa.*

4th. Wenése, a Shúwa place with cultivated fields.

5th. Bírka, a place of the Welád Músa, represented as the most warlike tribe of Shúwa hereabouts.

6th. Túmsa, a place inhabited by Kúka, but belonging to Bagírmi.

7th. No village. Having arrived about noon, you start again in the evening, and, after a short repose, reach in the morning

8th. Géla, the first place of Fittrí.

9th. Mélme, a considerable place, with a great market held every Tuesday. The direction, having hitherto been nearly north, now turns east.

10th. Yáwó, the capital of Fittrí, on the north side of the Batha, and not far from its junction with the (lake)

* Kínji is two days E.S.E. from Moíto, a large place, east of which is a mountain, the only one in Bagírmi. See further on.

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Fittrí, a large but open place (built by the Bulála, before whose arrival and settlement in the country, Kúdu was the capital of Fittrí), the residence of Juráb ben A'bú Sekín, the present ruler of the Bulála. The country abounds in rich pasture-grounds. The road from Mélme to Yáwó forms an angle, first east, further on south.

11th. Séta, a place of the Bulála.

12th. Hafír, encampment without a village, still within the territory of the Fittrí.

13th. Jeddáda, no inhabited place; encampment in the sandy valley of the meandering Bat-há, which in the dry season forms only stagnant pools of water.

14th. Surra, a locality only temporarily inhabited by the Arab tribe of the Jáátena, who frequent it during the rainy season. The territory belongs to Wáday.

15th. Dífda, a place of the Arab tribe of the Khozám.

16th. Néjme, a place of the Arab tribe of the Hémedát.

17th. Kunjur, a village of the tribe of the Kúka.

18th. Dermáma, a place of the tribe of the Kúka. From Dermáma to A'bú Telfán, a great mountain inhabited by pagans of the tribe of the Dájo, one day, a little south from east.

19th. Birket Fátima, an extensive basin filled by the water of the Bat-há beyond the north limit of the wádí, with a place of the Arab tribe of the Masmája, frequented likewise by the Erzegát.

20th. Ráhet el Khalla, another large pond of water, with a hamlet inhabited by the Dájó, a tribe of negroes under the rule of Wáday, with a language of their own.

21st. Ojób, a place of the Másalít, negroes with a peculiar speech (ertána).

22nd. Foróli, a place of the Siyáda, a division of the Másalít.

23rd. 'Aín Hajar, a place of the Másalít.

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24th. Jemést (Juméz) el bédha, a place of the Másalít, on a bend of the Bat-há, which here comes from the south, and which you now leave behind.

25th. Bórorít, a large village in Wáday Proper. You turn now from east to N.E.

26th. A'm-shárarib, a large village, Wáday.

27th. Máshek, a large place.

28th. Nimró, a place of the Jellába, with clay houses. The well is three fathoms deep. South of Nimró lies Tolfú, a place situated on a mountain.

29th. Wára, the capital of Wáday, inclosed on all sides by sandhills, leaving only, both on the south and the north sides, a single passage for access to the town. By the south entrance (the Lingak Embélkena), you enter the town, leaving the hamlet Búrtay on one side. With the exception of the palace, all the dwellings consist of reed. The Fásher, or council-place, is nothing but a spacious open square, planted with trees (of the kind called here sayál). The wells within the town are nine fathoms deep; those outside are of less depth. The palace lies on a range of hills on the east side. The western range of hills is called Tiré, contains several huts, and has a military guard. W.N.W. from Wára lies Toná, and at a short distance south lies Gándigin. Nimró from Wára is about eight miles.

(*b.*) *Route of Fáki I'brahím, from the A'bú Shárib Ménagón, from Bórorít to Más-eñá. West somewhat south.*

1st day. Hillet e' Sheikh, a large village inhabited by the slaves of the sultan, by the Zoyúd Arabs, and by the Bulála. You pass in the morning several small hamlets, and stop during the heat of the day (from ten to three or four o'clock) at Angúrma Táwemát, a place of the Dár-Zoyúd, at some distance north of the Bat-há, which has received the Betéhá at Malám.

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2nd. A'm-debáng, a large place inhabited by Kúka, situated in sandy soil (góz), about one day and a half north of the Bat-há. The heat of the day is passed at the village of Módu on the ráhet Sáribé, a pond with a clayey soil, fed by the water coming from the north.

3rd. A large place of the Zoyúd, name not known. Stop during the heat at Dókeát, a place of the same tribe of the Zoyúd. Within Dár Wáday the villages of the Arabs consist of huts of reed; beyond the boundaries of the country, of portable huts of matting, called "véri" by the Wáday people.

4th. Sheg el hájilíj, a place of the Kúka and Bulála, under Agíd Fadalallah, at some distance from the Bat-há. Stop during the heat of the day at another village, whose name my informant has forgotten.

5th. Encamp in the open air on néga, sterile land, without an inhabited place and without water, talha being the only vegetation. Stop during the heat at A'm-birke, a small place.

6th. A'm-jumézi, a place adorned by sycamores, "juméz;" stop during the heat at a place of the Bulála.

7th. Khatít, a village of the Bulála. I'brahím, remaining the whole morning at A'm-jumézi, started at 'aser; consequently Khatít is only distant from the former a few miles.

8th. A small hamlet. Stop during the heat of the day at a place inhabited by Bórnu people.

9th. Ngarruwendi, a considerable place of the Missiríye; stop during the heat at A'm-Sheráy, a Pullo or Felláta place, with numerous cattle.

10th. A'rda, a village of the Kúka and Bulála on the Bat-há; stop during the heat at Shebína, a considerable place of the Kúka, who formerly possessed there much power, situated on the Bat-há. On the banks of the Bat-há the deléb-palm at present has entirely

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disappeared, all the trees having been cut down during the great famine which prevailed seventeen years ago, in order to feed on the nourishing pith or core.

11th. A'm-aláwi, a considerable place, inhabited by Wáday and the J'aátena Arabs, at some distance from the Bat-há, which here turns southward. As far as A'm-aláwi, where I'brahím stopped two days, the whole district belongs to Dár Mába, or Wáday Proper. Stop in the morning at a small hamlet. From A'rda you turn a little N. by W.

12th. Encamp in the sandy bed of the Bat-há without an inhabited place. Surra is left to the right in the north bend of the wádí. My informant did not stop for the heat during these days, but travelled on from morning till noon.

13th. Kharúb, in the bed of the Bat-há, no inhabited place.

14th. Jeddáda, open encampment in the Bat-há.

15th. Séta, a village of the Bulála in their district of Fittrí.

16th. Gámsa, a place of the Bulála on the south bank.

17th. Y'awa or Y'awó, capital of the Bulála, close to the north bank of the Bat-há. Míddogó is from here about twelve hours E.S.E.

18th. Mélme, a considerable market-place, consisting of three hamlets, close to the north bank of the (lake) Fittrí. Between Y'awó and Mélme, the road describes an angle.

19th. Encamp in a forest at midnight, having stopped during the heat at a well, and started thence at dhohor. Up to this well the road follows a westerly direction; from here to Más-eñá it keeps south.*

20th. Moító, the first place in Bagírmi, which, however, has to pay a separate tribute of 400 shirts to the agíd

* This is a very important circumstance, which explains all the errors of M. Fresnel in constructing his incomplete itineraries.

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el bahr. Moító comprises five villages, three of which lie in a line on the southern foot of a rocky eminence, and two at the eastern foot of another. The road to Fittrí runs between the two rocky ridges, which are of considerable elevation, and the eastern one of which extends to a great length. At the easternmost village of the western group, a market is held twice a week, every Tuesday and Thursday, but is much less important than that of Mélme. Moító is the residence of a khalífa of the sultan of Bagírmi.* Stop during the heat in the morning in hillelát (small villages) of the Kúka, and start at dhohor; arrive late in Moító.

21st. Hillet 'Arab, which you reach in the morning, having started in the evening and slept on the "néga."

22nd. Garra, in the morning, having started in the evening, and slept at a place belonging to some Arabs.

23rd. Jilás, having started in the morning, and passed the heat at a place of the Kúka.

24th. A'bú-Gher, a place of some importance on account of its Saturday market, and comprising two villages separated from each other by the market-place. The place is of Púllo or Felláta origin; and the southern village is entirely inhabited by Fúlbe, whilst the northern one is occupied by small tradespeople. The name, as far as I know, has nothing to do with the ábú kern or rhinoceros.

25th. Sobiyó, a village of the m'allem Sáleh Tynjuráwi, a very learned fáki. Arrive early in the morning, having started in the evening and slept on the road.

26th. Más-eñá, the capital of Bagírmi, after a short march. From A'bú Gher, direction S.S.E.

* This place has been repeatedly mistaken for the capital of Bagírmi, even by M. Fresnel.

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(*c.*) *Route of the Fáki 'Alí Malánga from Más-eñá to Wára.*

1st day. A'bú-Gher.
2nd. Yelás, the Bagírmi place above-mentioned.
3rd. A'bú Gérra.
4th. Moító, a group of villages skirting some rocky eminences. Seven hours north from Moító lies the village of Aúni, likewise on a rocky eminence*; one day N.W. Gosús, also on a hill; A'ngora, a place of the Kúka, two days N.E.
5th. Kalkálle, a Bagírmi place. A long march.
6th. Mélme, a large place, with small hamlets lying in the neighbourhood.
7th. Séta, a large place north of the Bat-há. Yáwó is left on the right.
8th. Surra, encampment without any inhabited place.
9th. Jeddáda, encampment only.
10th. Geltsa, encampment.
11th. Difdé, a village of the Sálamát and Kúka, who use the water of the Bat-há, which here makes a bend towards the north.
12th. A'm-aláwi, a place of the Malánga, distant from the Bat-há. A short march. The Menázel Sultán extends from Wára as far as this place.
13th. Ngaruwendi, a place of the Welád Hasén, distant from the Bat-há, which has turned towards the south.
14th. Esheráya, a hamlet of the Fúlbe or Felláta.
15th. Tawíle, a place of the Jellába, with clay dwellings and reed huts, distant from the Bat-há.
16th. Bírre, a place of the mállem Mohájar, the agíd of the Sébbadé. Birket Fátima, the great place of the

* This place Aúni is evidently identical with the homonymous place mentioned above in the itinerary of the king Edrís Alawóma.

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Siyáde Masmáje and residence of their agíd, with clay and reed huts, is six hours south from here.

17th. Abú Gérra, a large place of the Welád Bú Sáid.

18th. Beréga, a place of the Malánga. A good march.

19th. Mégerá, a place of the Týnjur and Jellába on the wádí Elmá, which extends towards the north into the gizán.

20th. Dókeát, a considerable place of the nás (people of) Gírri, on a wádí abounding with lions and rhinoceroses.

21st. Dúggulí, a place of the Ráshid Arabs, Fókara zuwáye, close to A'm-debáng.

22nd. A'm-batéta, a place of the Missiríye Arabs in the néga, no wádí.

23rd. Támmedál Húmmelán with Missiríye Arabs.

24th. Bír Sunta, an opulent place of Bórnu tradesmen.

25th. Bíri Yóyo, a place of the Mágena Makhmúdi.

26th. A'm-Zét, a place of the Fókara of the Missiríye, with a small zaraf.

27th. A'm-shéreríb, a place of the Térjem, near three eminences consisting of a red-coloured rock.

28th. A'm-dekík, a place of the nás Gírri, founded by Sabún, and called by the people Karnak Wáday.

29th. Fírsha, a place of the nás Mánga.

30th. Káltegge, a place of the Mánga.

31st. Nimró, a Jellába place, with the great ſáki Góni Merés.

32nd. Wára.

2. Routes in the Interior of Wáday.

(*a.*) *Fáki I'brahím's Route from Wára to Shenini. South.*

1st day. Abéshr, formerly a small place of the Kélingen, but, three years ago having become the residence of Sultán Sheríf, more densely inhabited, and containing also some clay huts. Arrive about dhohor, having in the morning passed Tára, Menzel Sultán (where

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Yúsuf Kharifáyín died, and which was formerly a large place); further on, Kay-wána, a considerable village; then Gañánga, Nyaláng (a place of the Jellába), Jikúb, and finally U'tuló. From Abéshr to Nimró is a long march.

2nd. Kélingen Kíri, a hilly place belonging to the sultan (whose mother is a native of it), and the residence of the kamkolák Rákeb. Dílebát has been passed on the way.

3rd. Kínji Mínrak, a place of the Kajánga, who inhabit about forty villages in this hilly region, on the north bank of the Betéhá. Stop during the heat in Errinmanga in a level tract of country.

4th. Deñam, a village of the A'bú Shárib, having passed in the morning A'm-dírdi, a place of the Kajánga, Fárrel and Gándigin situated at the western foot of a rocky eminence. Stop during the heat at Bedíne, pass Gúngerúm,—all places of the Kajánga,—then Kórdufál, and finally Gélebé, the native place of my informant Fáki I'brahím.

5th. Sheníni, a place of the A'bú Shárib Ménagón and Márarít, who are, however, mixed with the Bíli, the Kodoyí, the Míni, the Gañánga, the Bulála, and the Khozám Arabs. Pass in the morning A'm-búrtunú, a place of the Dájó at the northern foot of a rocky eminence, at the western foot of which lies a place of the Jellába, and to the east of which lies a place of the Missiríye. Having turned west round the hill, you pass the wádí el Hamra, a wide valley which, in its upper course near the villages Kóriyó, Gúndur, &c., is overgrown with deléb-palms, date-palms, and árdéb—here, however, producing corn. The valley towards the S.W., near Sunkútu Malám, joins that of the Bat-há. Further on you traverse a "néga," or "élan," a plain overgrown with talha, and reach, ultimately, Habíle, a place of the A'bú

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Shárib, with Mállem Zakharíye, where you stop during the heat. Then you pass A'blubán, where the wádí Habíle joins the wádí el Hamra, and reach Sheníni, having passed the deep and expansive wádí Dirrengék, which runs towards the wádí el Hamra.

(*b.*) *From Sheníni to Bórorít, by way of O'grogó, according to the Fáki Ibrahím.*

1st day. Abkar ʿAbd el Khálik, a village of the district of Abkar, which, besides this, comprises the following villages: Abkar Jembóng, one of the largest villages in Wáday, with about 600 huts, A. Mótotóng, A. Béndaláng, A. Táwalibé, A. A'mjedáge, A. Hejéllijóng, A. Hejérbasán (called by the Arabs "Hajar A'bú-Hassan"), A. Gógnotáng, A. Dillit, A. Jemíl e' Síd. Having in the morning first turned west, you cross the w. el Hamra, and pass the village of Mustakhéde, then turn N.W., and cross the w. Wárringék, which is close on the right, and pass the village Rógrogó; stop, during the heat, at Méri, a place of the Ogodóngde and Gámara; having then crossed the w. Wárringék, which, between Rógrogó towards the west, and A'blubán east, joins the w. el Hamra, you pass Seríra, Magállemék, all on the west bank of the w. Wárringék, and, lastly, A. Hejéllijóng, close before you reach A. ʿAbd el Khálik.

2nd. Namwúrren, a place of the Kajánga, passing in the morning Hámiyen, the only place in Wáday possessing warm springs of fresh water, in a district distinguished by some small rocky hills, and close to the wádí Wárringék. The water is so warm that you cannot put your hand into it; but it soon cools in the air. In Hámiyen resides Fáki Jábúr, of the A'bú Shárib. Passing then Sakháli, a place of the Bándalá, you halt, during the heat, at Karán-

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galák. In the afternoon you cross once more the w. Wárringék, which, in its upper course, comes from N.W. from Morró, a place of the Kajánga, from whence it proceeds to the néga Ajáje, thence to Marfa, and thence east to Kulbú, distant three hours W.N.W. from Hámiyen. From Karángalák you come to Kiréngel, a place of the Bándalá, situated on the west and north side of the wádí Karéngelnák, which, by way of Nyára, where it is joined by the w. Kórkotó, runs south towards the wádí Wárringék. The country, "goz" (sand) and "tín" (clay), stretches to Himéda, and thence to Namwúrren.

3rd. Jómbo Fókarán, on the w. Ngónjobók, a large wádí, where onions are extensively grown, and which, coming from the north, joins the Betéhá, which is not far from this place. Having in the morning passed Fáringáng a place of the Kajánga, Kúñigi, and further on Fútela nyammúk gwána ("pour in the butter," butter being here very plentiful), then Fírti,—all places of the Kajánga,—you cross the Betéhá, which supplies the inhabitants of Fírti with water, and stop, during the heat, at Nyemér Hejilíje, a place of the Kajánga, but under the authority of the agíd of the Jaátena, N.W. of the Betéhá, which here comes from the north. Proceeding then to Nyemér Tergeménge, still on the Betéhá, which now is left on the east side, you reach Jombó.

4th. O'grogó was reached by I'brahím about káila, he having passed Jómbo Lársherí on the Betéhá, J. Swébe and J. Dángal, all places inhabited by Wáday people. From O'grogó he intended to proceed to the Máhamíd in the wádí 'Orádha, for the purpose of pursuing his studies among this most opulent Arab tribe. The Kodoyí being, however, at that time at war with the sultan, and the road running between the Kélingen and the Kodoyí being unsafe,

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he resolved to go to Bagírmi, and consequently changed his direction west, and then N.W., towards Bórorít. He started the same day, and slept at Kinji-Mínrak, a large village of the Kajánga, consisting of 500 huts, and the native place of Sáleh Dérret, having passed Jómbo Sárkalé and Gúndogín, a village of the Kajánga, consisting of three hamlets. West a little south.

5th. O'shena, a place of the Kashémeré, south of the Betéhá. Having passed in the morning Gósmin, in a sandy tract, then Tongóng, a small hamlet of Shékoma, the mother of Mohammed the eldest son of the sheríf, inhabited by Kajánga, then Jerád, also a Kajánga place, on the Betéhá, and Ofúlek, a village inhabited by Moslemín of the tribe of the Dájó, he stayed, during the heat, at Birén, a considerable place with a mixed population consisting of nás Koróngo, Gardáy, Kólotáng, and Júngoráng, south of the Betéhá, and sixteen to seventeen hours south of Wára. Passing then Birén Kénga, a place of the Wáday, and Kashémeré on the Betéhá, he arrived at O'shena.

6th. A'm-kharúba, a large place of the Kashémeré, formerly belonging to A'bú Horra, the brother of the sheríf, who fell in the battle of Tórbigen. Of all the inhabitants of Wáday, the Kashémeré prepare their meals in the richest and most palatable manner. Pass in the morning Kélti, a considerable place of the Kashémeré, and the village Bútere, both south of the Betéhá, and stay, during the heat, in Fúnduk, another place of the Kashémeré, quite close to A'm-kharúba.

7th. Káure, a place north of the Betéhá, where you stop for the night, on account of the good edibles, the Káure people being, next to the Kashémeré, the most excellent cooks in Wáday, while next to them in this

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respect rank the A'bú Godám and the Marfa. Crossing in the morning the Betéhá, leaving Nyángalá, a place of the Jellába north of the Betéhá, on your right hand, and bending a little north from west, you pass Híjjerát, a place of the people of the shiúkh (eunuchs) of the hábbabát (concubines of the sultan), at some distance from the Betéhá, and stay during the heat in Hijjér, not very far from the Betéhá, formerly a place of Fátima, the sheríf's favourite daughter, who died at Tórbigen; at present the village is transferred to a daughter of Shékoma. From this place, Káure is a little south from west.

The Betéhá bends from Káure S.W. to Malám, so called on account of this watercourse joining here the Bat-há ("the confluence"), a place inhabited by a clan of the Táma, ten or twelve hours south a little west from Káure.

8th. Bórorít, a large place, "Menzel Sultán," inhabited by Kashémeré, Wáday, Arabs, and Welád Hushta (domestics of the former sultans), consisting of about twenty hamlets, the largest of which is called Bórorít Hajar. Pass in the morning several small hamlets, in one of which you stop during the heat of the day.

(*c.*) *From Wára to Dumta, the first Place in Dár-Fúr, according to Háj Sadík.* [About 10 miles per diem.]

1st day. Gáttakarák, a place of the Wáday.
2nd. Gáttakarák, a place of the Kélingen.
3rd. Wáweledá, a place of the Wáday.
4th. Kélmedí, a large place of the Sungóri with a considerable market-place ("tarf e' dár"), the last place in Wáday. East from this place are some rocky hills

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which occasionally serve as hiding-places to the Táma highway robbers.

5th. Tumtubáya, a well in the khalla or wilderness.

6th. Asúnga, a wádí overgrown with deléb-palms, and with running water in the rainy season. (Wádí Asúnga, according to all appearance, is identical with W. Kíya.)

7th. Dumta, the first place in Dár-Fúr.

Dumta, according to Háj Sadík, is eight days' journey from Kebkabíye:—

1st day. Bír Degíg, a place with a separate ertána (jargon).

2nd. O'ra,
3rd. A'm-dúkhen, } villages.
4th. Kulkuláya, }

5th. Kónge, with a great mosque.

6th. Wádí Báre, a densely inhabited valley, stretching S.S.E.

7th. Sultán 'Omár, a large place on the Báre, at the foot of a rocky eminence.

8th. Kebkabíye, a large place of the Jellába, with clay houses, and a much-frequented market, held every Tuesday and Thursday. Warm springs.

From Kebkabíye to Tendélti, eight days:—

1st day. Bír Nabék, a well in the wilderness, in the Márra mountains.

2nd. Káura, a well, with some slight cultivation in the mountains.

3rd. Kúru, a place in the mountains, with mosque.

4th. Shebéna, a place of the Jellába, in the wádí.

5th. Jéllo, a place, with clay huts, of the Jellába.

6th. Mowéle, a place with clay houses and reed huts; wells deep.

7th. Maddúb, a small place.

8th. Tendélti, the capital of Dár-Fúr.

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(*d.*) *From Shenini to Dumta, according to Fáki I'brahím.*

1st day. Derjíli, a place of the 'Alí, blacks, with a separate ertána or jargon. Pass in the morning Bárekálla, and stop for the heat at Míchirí, also villages of the 'Alí.

2nd. Búrtay, a group of two villages, of the 'Alí. Stop for the heat at Aláshi.

3rd. Harrúnek, a considerable place in the mountains, inhabited by Másalít and 'Alí; arrive before dhohor, at about two o'clock. Pass in the morning Sáñigó, likewise a place of the 'Alí, in the mountains, where the wádí Bat-há commences, two days E.N.E. from A'm-gontúra, a place of the Kúbu.

4th. Dulla, a place of the Másalít, in a plain.

5th. Kíya, a wádí with clayey soil and with deléb-palms and another tree called jákh-jákh; in its upper course called Asúnga. Stop during the heat at Má'múr, a pond of water at the base of a rocky eminence.

6th. Murlí, a place of the Másalít, but already belonging to Fúr. Pass in the morning Wádí Kája; halt there during the heat.

7th. Dumta, a small place with a few date-palms, "mukdám Hánafí" (the residence of Hánafí).

(*e.*) *From Shenini to Jurlú, according to Fáki I'brahím.*

1st day. O'guma, a village of the A'bú Shárib, passing A'blubán and Habíle.

2nd. Adékke, a place in the hills, inhabited by the Kúka, passing Glégis, Wére, Shakh-hén, all occupied by the A'bú Shárib, then Tará, a village in the mountains; Tará Gorórgorá, a place of the Táma; and Gáskunji, a place of the Kúka.

3rd. Betéhá, the valley, without an inhabited place, passing Tynjúng and Kúltumó, both inhabited by nás

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Wádáy, and Tammám, all situated in the plain. Tammám is occupied by the Sungóri.

4th. Jurlú, a place in the mountains, inhabited by the Sungóri, who, along with the Másalít, occupy all this tract down from the Betéhá. Jurlú is the residence of the higher classes of the Sungóri. The mountain is very considerable in comparison with the other mountainous eminences in Wádáy, but nevertheless not an entire day's journey in breadth. According to I'brahím, the Betéhá rises in this mountain, whilst the Bat-há rises in the Soñyó.

(*f.*) *The Principal Villages along the Betéhá from Birén upwards. According to Fáki I'brahím.*

West of Birén lies Aúshena, or O'shena, on the opposite or northern side of the wádí Múrshudú; then east, further up, Ofúla, a place of the Dájó, then Jemér Hejilíje, a place of the Kajánga and Korórіyang, likewise belonging to the Kajánga and the Fírti, all on the south side of the wádí, while on the north lies Gosmínni, further on A'mmárga, then Shokán — consisting of six or seven villages, viz., Sh. Kórdofán, Sh. Bátarán, Sh. Abérbi, Sh. Miñi, &c., all inhabited by the Bíli; then east of the latter Shimé, a place of the Mími and Kóromboy; then Agúrbo, a place of the Mími; Kunó, a place of the Kodoyí and Kawák; then follow the villages of the Sungóri.

All these villages are remarkable for their cultivation of onions. About Etím, west of Birén, near an eminence, corn is cultivated by slaves of the sultan.

(*g.*) *From Shenini to Nyéseré. S.E.*

1st day. A'm-gontúra, a place of the A'bú Shárib on the south bank of the Bat-há, which is here joined by the wádí Iséra, which comes from Dirjéli, four days N.W. of Birén, by way of Marfa-O'gumó —

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Dóbbur—Dirjéli. Passing in the morning Bárekalla of the A'bú Shárib and Gumtúj, a place of the Gnórga, you stop during the heat in Daliñe, a hamlet of the Gnórga.

2nd. Kétteké, a place of the Másalít. Passing in the morning Urúlla, situated close to A'm-gontúra towards the east, and Nebbegága, both villages of the A'bú Shárib, you enter the district of the Másalít, and pass their villages of O'la Sábbalát and O'la Dábangát.

3rd. Khalla; stop during the heat in Wádí Kíya.

4th. Nyéseré, a place of the Másalít, or, more strictly speaking, of the Ambús, a division of the Másalít, who are accused of cannibalism. This place belongs already to Fúr.

(*h.*) *From Shenini to the Móku, or iron mines. West.*

The Móku are situated near Shákkayak, a place consisting of two hamlets, and inhabited by the Barúwala, one mine being close to the place, the other south of it, on two separate hills, whilst close to Shákkayak on the west there is another mine, in a hill close to the village of Lágiya, where 100 jerári, or hoes of this shape , may be bought for one ox. The iron from these Móku, which is only broken in small stones on the surface, is manufactured by the blacksmiths in the neighbouring villages of Fáhem, south of Shákkayak, A'blubán, south of Fáhem, Múruske, south of Shákkayak, and in Gosmán.

On the short march from Shenini to Shákkayak, you pass Mistakhéde, Rógrogó, Mánga Dírdigé and Mánga Abákrnak, these two hamlets forming part of the large place of Mánga, inhabited by Mími, Gélma, A'bú Shárib and Kanúri. The other hamlets belonging to the place are called Mánga

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Kordále, Mánga Mérendé, which lies north of Shákkayak, Mánga Múttong, Mánga A'beyáng, inhabited by A'bú Shárib, and Mánga Míri, from whence it is not far to Abkar Hájilíj, the village above-mentioned, by way of Serír and Magállem.

There is besides another considerable iron mine at Kájam, four hours W.S.W. of Tókhilí, in the district Jéji, the iron of which is brought by the A'blebay to A'tarek between Abkar and Mánga Mérendé, where this iron, as well as the copper brought by the Jellába from the celebrated hofra in the south of Dár-Fúr, is manufactured by the "haddád Mónnu.

(*i.*) *From Shenini to Sillá by way of A'ndelá, according to Fáki I'brahim. Direction S.S.W., then south.*

1st day. A'ndelá, a place inhabited by Wáday and Bándalá. Passing in the morning Shokhúlke, a place consisting of two hamlets, and inhabited by the Ogodóngde, close to Sheníni, Tordóna, likewise of the Ogodóngde, you cross the wádí Hamra, and stop during the heat in Súnkutú, whereupon, passing Súnkutú Jídnak or Nyílik, you cross the Bat-há, which somewhat higher up, near Súnkutú Malám, receives the wádí Hamra, and finally pass Agílbe, a village comprising three hamlets inhabited by Wáday people, and close to A'ndelá, Agílbe Angneréda.

2nd. Shakák, a village of the Bándalá, in a sandy tract, with rocky hills. A good march; stop during the heat at the well of Kadáda, a place not inhabited, but containing numerous trees, particularly dúm-palms.

3rd. Chilímna, a village of the Bándalá and the A'blebay, near to which towards the west dwell the Sálamát, Míssiríye, and Jéji. Here are seen the mountains of

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Sillá, the inhabitants of which supply the market of Chilímna with honey, and fish, fresh and dried. Stop during the heat at noon in the wádí Bokhás, said to run south into the large wádí Diwé, which skirts the district Jéji, and by some is considered identical with the bahr Sálamát, which passes Mangára, and then, one day from Mangára, is called Gedé, or bahr el Hémád, and further down O'm e' Tímán or bahr Sálamát. I'brahím considers it as a tributary of the river of Runga. Besides the Hémád and Sálamát, the Shárafa also pasture on its banks.

4th. Sillá, which was not visited by I'brahím himself, is reached after crossing in the morning the wádí Diwé, which spreads out to a great extent on clayey ground, and swarms with fish. The Sillá are handsome people, without incisions. Yúsuf Khariffáin made a ghazzia to this place.

(*k.*) *Direct way to Sillá.*

1st day. Dumbóli, a place of the Míssiríye, close to Rás el Fíl or Tánjaknák on the west. Passing in the morning Shokhúlke and Abjefíli, a place of the Ogodóngde, with the small wádí A'bú Ghánem (pronounced A'bū Khánem) in the south, which joins the wádí el Hamra, near Súnkutú; stop during the heat at Sǫrumó, on the north bank of the Bat-há, which flows close, on the east, to the Wáday hamlet of Maráy.

2nd. Khalla, passing the large mountain of Kajéske.

3rd. Sillá, in the morning.

(*l.*) *From Wára to Rúnga, according to Háj Sadík. South, afterwards west.*

1st day. A place of the Kóndongó, with a large mountain stretching out to a great length.

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2nd. Andísha, a place of the Wádáy.
3rd. Hawára, a place of the Wádáy in a level country.
4th. Betéhá, a wádí, occupied by Wádáy people.
5th. A'fi, a place of the Wádáy, at the base of a ridge of mountains.
6th. Kémerí, a place of the Wádáy, in a plain with mountains in the distance; south.
7th. A place of the Chaíma, slaves of the Bándalá, who prepare honey.
8th. Kódogus, one of the largest places of Wádáy, inhabited by Talba Arabs. According to I'brahím, Kódogus is rather a place of the A'bú Shárib, Kajágasé, and Dermúdi, and is three days and a half from Sheníni. Sleep at U'rka, a place of the Wádáy and Bándalá, on the Bat-há, then at A'm-búrtunú, a village of the Wádáy and Bándalá, the latter being the more numerous, and the third night at a place the name of which he had forgotten. W.S.W.
9th. I'd el Gadém.
10th. Kájam, a village at the western foot of a mountain.
11th. Mangára (according to this informant erroneously called the chief place of Kebét or Kajágesé). From Mangára to Sillá, one day's journey east.
12th. Gurára, encampment in the wilderness.
13th. Metérbe.
14th. Donás, the name of the ruler of the province of Runga, the successor of Sebír, who pays tribute both to Fúr and Wádáy.

According to Háj Sadík, the position of Runga with regard to Wára is like that of Mándará and Kúkawa, and its geographical relation to Tendélti as that of the Púllo place of Bógo, on the east side of Mándará, to Más-eñá.

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(*m.*) *From Shenini to Runga. From the account of Fáki I'brahim.*

1st day. A'ndalá.
2nd. Shakáki.
3rd. Jéji, a district comprising about twenty hamlets.
4th. Kerére, a place of the Másmajé.
5th. Khalla.
6th. Kebét, an outlying province of Wáday, not, as my other informant thought, identical with Kajágasé, which belongs to Wáday Proper.
7th. Khalla.
8th. Mangára, the capital of Dággel, situated on a rocky eminence ("Mangára," in the Dággel language, signifies a rock), and close by a large pool of standing water, called by the Arabs, "Bahr e' Tíni."
9th. An expansive marsh, inundated to a large extent during the rains, with a clayey soil.
10th. Runga in the morning.

South from Runga, according to Fáki Sámbo, lies Dár Meng.

(*n.*) *From Tendélti to Runga, according to the information of Háj Sadík.*

1st day. Kórigó, a considerable market-town. A long march till áser. If you travel but slowly, you stop during the heat at the pond called Ráhet Birbídi, sleep at A'm-habíle, and reach Kórigó only on the following morning. The market of Kórigó is held only on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Some of the pilgrims turn from the territory of the Sungóri by way of Jebel Herés, straight upon Kórigó.
2nd. Jurtóba, a place of the Bulála and Kúka.
3rd. Abéshr, a village of the Furáwy.
4th. Wágif, a place occupied by Bagírmi people.
5th. A'm-kordás, another village inhabited by Bagírmi people. The entire tract consists of sandy soil.

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6th. Selálo, a large place inhabited by Bórnu people.

7th. A'm-majúra, a considerable place, important on account of its traffic with the Kirdi country, here called Firtít, and the residence of the governor of Birket, inhabited by Másalít, Dájó, Bagírmi, and Furáwy.

From Tendélti to A'm-majúra, according to Háj Mohammed.

1st day. Difán Haggeróna, a place of the Dájó, beyond Kórigó, which you pass. A long march.

2nd. A'm-harrás, a place only recently built by a man from Bú Harrás in Kordofán, and inhabited by Fúr and Bagírmi people.

3rd. A'm-kardús, a place belonging to Shetéta, and inhabited by Fúr. Identical with A'm-kordés.

4th. Hillet el Makdúm Khalíl.

5th. A'm-majúra, two days and a half from Tebeldíye, three days from the hofra, and about three days from Bahr el Erzegát. A'm-majúra is very rich in deléb-palms, and has an important Sunday market supplied with butter by the Erzegát. The inhabitants of the place are said to trade particularly in slaves, which they buy with wodá and tobacco.

8th. Gíja, a place inhabited by Fúr and Gullá, governed (at that time) by Mohammed Setéba. Direction from hence a little south from west.

9th. Májam, a place of the Ta'asha Arabs, but inhabited besides by some Másalít.

10th. Ráhet Kháli in the Khalla, without an inhabited place.

11th. Báli.

12th. Dúm Asehéba.

13th. Dúm 'Ardéba.

14th. Khalla.

15th. Débe, a village of the Runga; pagans, besides a few 'Urbán or Arabs.

16th. Tarkámu, a district occupied by Bórnu people.

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17th. The place of residence of Donás, the prince of Runga, after whom it is generally called; the original name is not known to me.

(*o.*) *List of the more considerable places in Fittrí, and the divisions of the Bulála, according to the Buláli Ibrahím.*

In the district called Defn Meláda: Témsa (identical with Dumsa), Késhegá, Tíggedí, where a fugitive son of the last sultan of Bórnu resides, Góla, Dúbunór, Géla, Kábberá, Móyo, Dógo, Gálo. In the district El Góza: Mélme, Kúdu, Amána, Gúgu, Sége, A'gené, Bayálla, Bógo, Shegé, Búrrigó, Befárkamá, Dénni, Góllo, Y'awó, Gámsa, Wágalá, Séta. Kabáil or families of the Bulála: Lóffewá the Sóltana or ruling family, Gíjo, Battáwa, Argumuwá, Chélmuwá, Wádewá, Kásewá, Jilluwá, and many others, at least twenty; according to tradition, ninety-nine. The ancestor of the Bulála is Jíli (Jíl Shikomémi), who came from Kánem.

(*p.*) *Some account of Fittrí and Bat-há, according to 'Othmán, who had been carried off as captive from Bagírmi by Sabún, with additions by Háj Sadík.*

The lake (Fittrí means nothing but valley, basin of water, and coincides in sense with Tsád) is two days' journey in circumference, contains fresh water, is very shallow, has a clayey bottom, and is surrounded on all sides by a rich marsh almost destitute of trees, whilst the valley of the Bat-há is densely and beautifully wooded—at least it was so till lately. No wádí joins the lake except the Bat-há; and none issues from it. In the centre of the shallow lake lies an island called Módo, the pagan, or at least half-pagan inhabitants of which belong to a tribe generally called A'bú Simmin, long since reduced to subjection by the Kúka, and navigate the lake in small canoes, made from trunks hollowed out, and holding two or three persons. Among the fish found in the

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lake are the angóla, which strikes the water, and the bolbút; but there is no sémmak. The principal places lying about the lake are (beginning from Yáwó) Debunóro, Tamsa or Temsa, Géla, Gólo, Dágo, Gámsa, which is about twelve miles from Yawó (but these places are at a considerable distance from the shores of the lake, though varying, of course, greatly according to the season). Five tribes pasture in the Fittrí — the Beni Málekí, who possess numerous camels, the Jáátena, the Hamíde, and a part of the Kréda; and it is visited even by other Tebu tribes during the summer. In the kharíf, or rainy season, when the Arab tribes are removing, and the whole country is inundated and infested by swarms of mosquitoes, the camels of the Fittrí are, like those of the sultan, stall-fed in sheds, or at least are sheltered with mats.

The principal places along the lower course of the Bat-há are: Séta, Dífde, Henéwu Júrundú, A'm-kharúba, Durmámi, Sigó, Mugdára; Birket Fátima, a place of the Másmajé on the west side of the ráhet and north of the wádí; A'm-siddre, Al A'fanín, then the district called Dár-Zoyúd.

From Míddogó, which is one day from Yáwó, to Birket Fátima, is four days by way of A'b Zeráfa, a place of the Kúka, with small rocky ridges; Hejél, a place of the Kúka, and finally Bóyo.

(*q.*) *From Fittrí to Máwó, N.W., according to the Buláli Ibrahím.*

1st day. Fáli or Fári (Fághi?), a hamlet inhabited by Bagírmi people, in a wádí-like hollow encompassed by rocks.

2nd. Aúni, a hamlet of Bagírmi people, with some rocky ridges.

3rd. Búkko, another hamlet of the Bagírmáye.

4th. Shégeráye, a wádí where the Guráán pasture their camels.

5th. Bahr el ghazál, an expansive and richly-timbered wádí.

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6th. Kedáda, a place of the Týnjur. Kedáda is one day from 'Alímarí, where the waters of the eastern extremity of the Tsád are said to have been formerly discharged into the Bahr el ghazál, the communication with which is now interrupted by sandy downs.

7th. Mondó, another place of the Týnjur, under the chief Abákr.

8th. Yagúbberí, a hamlet of the Týnjur.

9th. M'awó, the residence of the khalífa of Wáday, and the general head-quarters of Jérma Móngo. The inhabitants of M'awó are called Beránemá in the Gur'aán language.

(*r.*) *From Fittrí to M'awó, according to a Wádáwy.*

1st day. Khabíni, a Gur'áán settlement, with abundance of water.

2nd. El Khazálát, a wádí, said to be a tributary of the Bahr el ghazál, occupied by Dághana.

3rd. Shegeráye, a wádí, occupied by the Gura'án.

4th. Délebát, a wádí.

5th. El Grét, a wádí.

6th. M'awó.

My informant declares that he left the wádí Fári on his right, and never passed the Bahr el ghazál at all.

Another informant went from M'awó to Fittrí by way of Kálkalá, Gújer, the well of Toróro in the Bahr el ghazál, the wádí Shegeráye with abundance of water, and the rocks of Hajjiját in the wádí Fári.

(*s.*) *Wára to Wádí 'Orádha, according to Fáki I'brahím and 'Alí Malánga.*

1st day. Bóbok, a place of the Kajígají, a Wáday tribe. Leaving Wára by the N.W. gate on the road called Lingak Bátemelek from the village of Báteme, which is passed soon after starting, further on you pass

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the village of I'nding, and afterwards Korummúdi, a village inhabited by Fezzáni people.

2nd. Tátsere, a place inhabited by Wádáy. Stop during the heat at Tákhsha.

3rd. 'Orádha, a wádí or zaraf, very rich in pasture-grounds, where the Máhamíd pasture in the summer, whilst in the kharíf they proceed to Túrru and Súbbu. East of the wádí 'Orádha is the wádí Subb, two days from the mountainous country of the Táma. The road from Fezzán by the Búrgu country to Wára touches at 'Orádha.

'Alí made the following *détour* in going to the wádi 'Orádha, which is much resorted to by the Wádáy Fáki, as, by their reading and writing, they may easily earn from the wealthy Arabs of that locality a cow or a good number of sheep:—

1st day. Bóbok.

2nd. Kursó, a considerable place of the Mími.

3rd. Tátsere. All this country has a sandy soil.

4th. Armán, a place of the fokará of the Máhamíd, inhabited by their chiefs Mahmúd 'Abd e' Salám Weled Chócho and Hagar Weled Bélle.

5th. Rehédo, another place of the Máhamíd.

6th. Subb, a zaraf running west, whither the Máhamíd likewise resort.

7th. 'Orádha.

3. Routes in the Interior of Bagírmi.

(*a.*) *Large and small Places on the Shári, from Búgomán upwards.*

Márja, a small place; Mískin, a considerable walled town; Mébi, a small place at the confluence of the Báchikám with the Shárí; Mainpa, or Mankhfa; Anja; Mólan; Gélendé; Mákelíl; O'ngo, or O'ñoko; Búnjul; Baleñére, a walled place; Mondó, with a rampart; Moró; Madélamá; Baingané; Laf-

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fiyáta; Gedó; Músgu; Bowáy; Miyán; Mógoló; Kába; Jílim Mábbelé, a town surrounded by a strong wall; Láffaná, with a rampart in ruins; Busó, a large place; Móngalá; Bá-Ngórgolong; Bíri; Korómafé; Tábe; Májim; Bubúr; Dére; Gófna; Chíromadí; Miltú.

(*b.*) *From Más-eñá to Láffaná and Busó.*

1st day. Mogál, beyond the ford of Báchikám, on the upper part of the river of the same name, which at Tápe, a village near Miltú, branches off from the upper Shárí, and rejoins it at Mébi, a small village near Mískin.
2nd. Mangagúllafé.
3rd. Gáram, a place inhabited by Kanúri.
4th. Sleep in the wilderness.
5th. Bedá-kúrchi, a Bagírmi place under Busó.
6th. Dendám, a Bagírmi place.
7th. Láffaná.

Bedá-kúrchi is nearer to Mábbelé and Láffaná than to Busó.

(Busó, according to Agíd Músa, is about as far from Más-eñá as Logón bírni or Moító, Busó being reached in three long marches: viz.

1st day. Gáwin Háji.
2nd. Bedá-kúrchi.
3rd. Busó.)

(*c.*) *From Más-eñá to Busó, according to Háj Sádik.*

1st day. Báchikám, a village on the southern side of the small branch of the Shárí, which, from this village, is generally called Báchikám, at least by the inhabitants of the capital, although from the larger town of I'r, which is situated on its northern bank, and was formerly governed by a sultan of its own, it is also called Bá-I'r. Its size varies extremely, according to the season, from a small rivulet scarcely twenty

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yards across, to a large sheet of water more than a mile in width.

2nd. Búlturí, a large village, inhabited by Kanúri.

3rd. Bedá-kúrchi, with a large swamp (bedá), whence its name. You stop during the heat in Dílfin, a Kanúri place.

4th. Dendám, a Bagírmi place.

5th. Busó, a large town inhabited by a mixed population of pagans, who are however clothed, and of Moslemín. It contains many of those so-called mállems, that is to say, people who know how to write a few phrases from the Kurán.

(*d.*) *From Busó to Miltŭ, S.E.*

1st day. Kiyár, at some distance from the river, the inhabitants drawing their supply of water only from wells. Crossing the river in the morning, you keep close along it a little south from east.

2nd. Tápe, a large place on the southern side of the river, S.S.E. *N.B.* Agíd Músa appears here to have made a mistake by transposing Kiyár and Tápe.

3rd. Miltú, a pagan place of considerable extent, at present governed by Bá, the son of 'Alí Fenjár, who died two years ago in Más-eñá. The inhabitants possess large numbers of horses, and prepare, from the ashes of the reeds in the river, a sort of salt, which, in the form of sugar loaves, has a sale extending over a very large region. At Bólo, close to Miltú on the east, the Báchikám branches off from the Shárí.

(*e.*) *Places along the Báchikám upwards, S.S.E.*

Báchikám, the fording place; I'r, a large town; Mogál; Mábberat or Mábbelat, formerly the capital of an independent principality; Más-eñawu, the place of the bowága or trumpeters of the sultan; Bélamédi, a Bagírmi place; Mámsa;

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Chíkorigá; Bugolóbe; Kúttutú; Díggeli; Máseré; Gáyoko; Mírre or Méré, seat of a man of influence called Damre, formerly the capital of an independent principality; Dol; Mégelé, or Mégedé; Yelál; Dímkir; Mariñé; Mub Béti; Ngírbing; Ságemáta, the last Bagírmi place, beyond which the pagan country of Sáruwa begins.

(*f.*) *From Más-eñá to Kírbe the capital of Sáruwa.*

1st day. Báchikám.

2nd. Naíromá, a place with a considerable market held on a Friday, and situated on a rivulet, which joins the Báchikám at I'r.

3rd. Ngáttara, about 10 A.M.

4th. Jíl, a village, about 10 A.M.

5th. Ságemáta, a Bagírmi place on the Báchikám. A long march.

6th. Négi, a village; about 10 A.M.

7th. Móngolá, a place on the Shárí, already belonging to Sáruwa.

8th. Kírbe, the residence of the chief of Sáruwa, of the name of A'bú, as he is called in Bagírmi. One day from each of the three places Kírbe, Tápe, and Miltú, but a little nearer to Kiyár.

The road from Kírbe to Míddobó, another important town in Sáruwa, passes by Dañ or Dañа. Other places in Sáruwa are, Tógilá, Dángwa, both on the Báchikám; Dañ, Mírti, Jílang, Mírkin, Móngolá, Jímmir, Jó, Bélay, Mut, Bilé, all of which are on the Shárí. From Dañа to Lairy is one long march, about 30 miles.

(*g.*) *From Miltú to Gógomi, according to Agíd Músa, with additions by Ramadhán. Direction, N.E.*

1st day. Attar, another place in Sáruwa, having passed in the morning, close to Miltú, the Shárí, which here comes from the south, and is called bá-Busó. A long march.

2nd. Komé, a place inhabited by pagans, in a mountainous district, surrounded by four mountains, two of which

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are called Tábe and Boño. A long march. Komé is one day from Míddobó, north.

3rd. Belél Kolé, a place inhabited by the Sókoró, fortified by nature in an extraordinary way, encompassed as it is said to be by several rocky ridges which inclose each other in a circular form, so as to leave only a single approach, whilst the interior is supplied with water. The prince resides on a rocky eminence in the centre of this peculiar mountain-basin. The other inhabitants dwell between the rocky ridges. In the vicinity is a place inhabited by Shúwa. Between Komé and Belél Kolé lies Jótol, at some distance to the south.

4th. Gógomi, a place situated in a deep basin in the mountains, accessible only by a narrow defile, and inhabited by a division of the Sókoró, whose formerly powerful chief was conquered and made prisoner by the sultan of Bagírmi during my stay in the country. The Jellába of Wáday travel as far as Gógomi, where they import European commodities. From Gógomi to Kénga it is five or six short days' journey, by way of Búdir, a place situated a short distance from Gógomi, on a steep mountain, said to be about as high as that of Tibésti, with a spring at its base and on its summit; Sim, a place in the mountains; Báddegé, a place on the top of a mountain; all these places being inhabited by Sókoró, who are armed with bows and arrows; Gal, a place in the mountains, surrounded by a moat; Tumki, a place situated on an eminence; Kénga Matáya.

(*h.*) *From Más-eñá to Gógomi.*

1st day. Bídderi, a considerable place, renowned on account of a family of shiúkh, who, as I have mentioned above, have exercised a most remarkable influence in the extension of Islám in these regions, and im-

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portant on account of its Friday market, where, however, the usual money of Más-eñá, viz. fardas and kholgán, has no currency, but only the finest gábagá, twenty of which are deemed equivalent to one khálag or shirt. About dhohor.

2nd. Múdda, a Bagírmi place.

3rd. Dekháruwe, a large place of the Arab tribe of the Dekhákhera or Deghághera.

4th. Kúrí, a Shúwa place on a pond of stagnant water.

5th. Maskáwu, a Shúwa place.

6th. Gató, a Shúwa place with a pond in the wilderness.

8th. Jená, a large walled town of the Sókoró, in a hilly district. The inhabitants, like almost all of the Sókoró, are said to eat a kind of beetle, called "dernána" by the Bagírmi. Jená lies between Gógomi and Komé.

9th. Gógomi, two days from Míddobó, a little north from east.

The road from Gógomi to A'bú Telfán passes by Bánem, Bálli, Sim, Kóndolá, Kéngetá, A'bú Telfán.

(*i.*) *Divisions of the Búwa.*

The following divisions of this numerous tribe are subject to the Sultan of Bagírmi: the Búwa Nyéldang, the most powerful of all; the Búwa Gamkúl; Gamkúl* is from Míddobó, the frontier-place of Sáruwa, twelve miles east, and two days south from Gógomi, through a mountainous wilderness; Búwa I'r; Búwa Wagé, and Búwa Shok.

The following are independent: the Búwa Lá, who are very numerous, and are divided into several families, occupying distinct places; the Búwa Kúnne; Búwa Gángli; Búwa Móke; Búwa Dámla; and east and S.E. from Gamkúl, at the distance of from twelve to fifteen miles, are the two places Kormále and Sarakélle, both situated on the top of a hill, and

* It is most probable that this is Wogga's Kimkul.—Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc., vol. xv. p. 374. "Koome," p. 375., is Belél Komé.

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the latter said to be governed by a queen; Búwa Kurmán (?); Búwa Goy, with a high mountain, having water on its top; Búwa Dókeró; Búwa Gúm; Búwa Ladón; Búwa Túniya; Búwa Kúrbul; Búwa Kullúnga or Kelánge, on a mountain, two days from Komé; Búwa Malbón; Búwa Bulúl, and finally the Búwa Mubb and the Búwa Kúli, who occupy a mountainous district close to the territories of the Welád Ráshid.

Another tribe, the Nyílem, to whom, according to Agíd Músa, belong the Dasár, whilst others consider these to belong to the Búwa, dwell close to the N.E. bank of the river. Beyond the Dasár you reach the Kólum, the Nyú, and at no great distance the Furá with Gambay.

(*k.*) *From Más-eñá to Kénga Matáya. East.*

1st day. Naíromá, the market-place abovementioned.

2nd. Mílle, a place with a Sunday market.

3rd. Kírsuwa, a considerable place on a small marshy watercourse or sél on a clayey soil, which, in the Kharíf, flows to Barkadaña, Sidígiyá, Bulúlu, and to Gámmara, a considerable place under an independent chief. (Is this watercourse identical with the Msél of Debbába?)

4th. Hírla, a place of a tribe related to the Bágrimma.

5th. Bedánga, a considerable place in a hilly district belonging to a section of the tribe of the Sókoró, under a powerful chieftain, converted, at least in outward appearances, to Islám. These people wear clothes and do not disfigure themselves by incisions on their faces; the women, however, have a bead in the nose and beads in the ears, as worn almost universally in these regions. The Wáday Jellába import their commodities even into these districts. The natives are armed neither with bows nor arrows, but only with spears and hand-bills. According to Mohammed Búme, who

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has been living here several years, the waters of this mountainous region are drained by the Nile through the territory of the Welád Ráshid,—a piece of information which is, however, very doubtful.

From Bedánga to A'bú Telfán is three days' journey E.N.E. by way of Bámmaná and Míggedi.

6th. Kénga Matáya, the chief place of a tribe closely related to the Bágrimma nation, under a powerful chief, to whose extensive territory also Jon, Gal, and Dámbar belong. The principal produce of this region is sesamum. My new informant, the aforesaid Moh. Búme, confirmed fully the statements communicated to me previously by Agíd Búrku with regard to the strange religious observances of these pagans. According to the same, the waters of the district round Gógomi are discharged by way of Lim, Gal, Bánam, and Kénga, into the "gezán," the sandy wilderness south of Fittrí. Kénga, according to the same, is four days from Yáwó, by way of Ngar-sára, the residence of a powerful chieftain, distant about two days from both places and also from Míddogó. According to the Buláli I'brahím, Kénga is reached in three long day's marches from Yáwó, by way of Gáriya, Mórbo, and Býllum. From Bedánga to Kénga is a long and unsafe journey, made during the night, in about sixteen hours, from evening to the heat of the day.

(*k.*) *From Más-eñá, by way of Laíry to Busó.*

1st day. Gógo. Stop during the heat in Malá.
2nd. Ngóg;
3rd. Duwíng;
4th. Múro. All short marches.
5th. Laíry, a large Bagírmi place, E. (S.E.) from Kírsuwa, on the same watercourse, and one good day's journey

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from Tógilá, and from thence to Attar in two days, having slept on the Báchikám.

6th. Gapkóng. A short march.

7th. Busó, having crossed the Báchikám about halfway.

(*l.*) *From Más-eñá, by way of Kólle to Laíry, and from Kólle to Moíto.*

1st day. Séta, passing Bídderi, Mandélu, Dabíñen, and Gadáwu.

2nd. A'mjerí, passing Mábbelá, Dérrejá, Meléde, Bindébiyó, and Tawyín.

3rd. Kólle, a considerable Bagírmi place, one day from Kírsuwa, towards which place a sél or shallow and marshy water takes its course hence by way of Dóldegí and Fór.

4th. Laíry. A long march.

From Kólle to Moíto by way of Debába.

1st day. Kírsuwa Jibílgi, with an independent chief, situated on a watercourse.

2nd. Hírla, a place situated on a hill.

3rd. Jókko, a place of the Kúka.

4th. Debába, a large place, consisting of various hamlets of the Shúwa, with rich pasture-grounds, and several watercourses. Debába is two days from Baláwu, having slept in Kósi, a Kanúri place, and crossed another "sél" between Kósi and Baláwu.

5th. Moíto. A good day's march.

(*m.*) *From Láffaná to Bang-Bay. Expeditious march, such as is usual on a ghazzia. Direction south as far as Lay.*

1st day. A'llowa, a pagan place, subject to Bagírmi; cross-

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ing in the morning the Shárí, or rather, as it is called here, the Bá-Busó.

2nd. Gúrgará, a large place belonging to a considerable tribe, whence all the iron consumed in Bagírmi is exported. It is obtained from *siderites*, and is not near so good as the iron of Wándalá or Búbanjídda.

3rd. Cháken, a large place, with an independent chief; about noon.

4th. Jogdó, a large place, consisting in part of clay huts, belonging to the extensive principality of Gábberí.

5th. Lóji, a place under the independent chieftain Kíki the son of Belát.

6th. Gun, a place on the Bá-Gun, as the river of Logón is here called. Almost every place has its separate ertána (jargon). The country yields sorghum, beans, "kolche" or ground-nuts, and melons.

7th. Lay, on the same bank of the river, the residence of Súgulum son of Nóba. The river abounds with fish, and is navigated by numerous boats. South of Lay, according to this informant, an arm, coming from the Fúlbe territory (from Bubanjídda, it seems), appears to join the river. This informant considers the river of Logón and the river of Day, Miltú, Busó, and A'su to be only arms of the same river, which is bifurcated, as he says, above Day. It may be so; but I doubt whether this account be true, the rate of the current in these two rivers being very different. The direction now becomes almost south.

8th. Myl, having crossed the river at Lay, and then taken a course a little south from west.

9th. Kóyo, a place with an independent chieftain, on a dry clay soil.

10th. Kíyagór, at a short distance, with an independent chieftain. About six hours from Kíyagór, a little north from east lies Bári, in a mountainous region.

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11th. Nong, another place belonging to Bagírmi.

12th. Dógo, the furthest place in Bagírmi which was reached by the ghazzia. The country produces abundance of honey, contains large numbers of goats and sheep, but no cattle. Dukhn (*Pennisetum typhoideum*) constitutes the principal food. Among the trees the tábur, or butter-tree, and the deléb-palm, are the most remarkable and predominant. The soil is dark red (being loam). From Dógo to Búban-jídda, according to informant, two days.

(*n.*) *From Mábbelé to Lay and Kim, according to Agíd Músa.*

1st day. Gúrgará; a long march till 'aser.

2nd. Cháken, a considerable place, with an independent chief; important as the point of junction of several roads leading south to Lay, S.W. to Kim, and W.S.W. to Dam.

3rd. Jogdó, an important place; short march.

4th. Cholól, a place four hours east from Gun.

5th. Nyinga, a short journey.

6th. Lay, a large place on the eastern bank of the river of Logón. If you go from Lay W.S.W., after having crossed the river you reach, after ten or twelve miles, Mung-chiré, and thence Chúwa, with three independent chiefs, Málo, Dúkko, and Baíbotó.

From Cháken to Kim.

1st day. Gunógunó; about twenty miles.

2nd. Kim, a large place on the river of Logón. Kim is three days' journey from Démmo, in Wúliya, our furthest point on the Músgu expedition. This, therefore, is a very important piece of information for joining these routes:

1st day. Jimán, on the river; about ten miles.

2nd. Kar, twenty miles.

3rd. Démmo in Wúliya.

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Kim from Lay is two good days' journey S.S.E., stopping for the night at Bisme, on the river. This track has a dry clayey soil, almost without trees, so that you may see from Kim the trees of E'ré, a place in the N.W., on the west bank of the river, and probably called from its situation on a ford, "éré" meaning river in the Músgu language. Márraba, a large place of the Mógom, is ten or twelve miles from Kim, beyond and at some distance from the river.

From Lay to Sálin. Direction a little north from east.

1st day. Chíre, a large place, residence of the chief Kassarák, who is not the only chieftain in this region, but there are two petty chiefs besides him. This place has a separate ertána. It is distinguished by an extensive plantation of fruit-bearing date-trees, which is well irrigated and kept in order, — a very remarkable circumstance, so that I have taken pains to ascertain that the informant has not confounded the date-palm with the deléb-palm. There are no asses in Chíre, nor any cats; and the horses are imported from Bagírmi. A long march of twenty-five miles.

2nd. Masró, about thirty miles.

3rd. Sálin, the residence of the chief, and the principal market-place of Dam.

From Sálin to Dámmuk, the capital of Somray, one day S.E.

From Más-eñá to Sálin.

1st day. Mogál.

2nd. Jeljélli, a Kanúri place.

3rd. Bana-kúrchi.

4th. Busó.

5th. Túnjurkú, a Kerdi place

6th. Gúrgará.

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7th. Límmi.
8th. Sálin, the capital of Dam or Ndam, which latter may be the right form.

(*o.*) *Más-eñá to Báng-Bay.*

1st day. Kagá.
2nd. Garám.
3rd. Mábbelé.
4th. Gúrgará, or rather one of the three villages which constitute the district of that name; the southern village lying in the direction of Cháken, and the western one in that of Chejiráki.
5th. Mátelé.
6th. Kim, a large place, where a kashélla (inspector of the river) of the sultan of Bagírmi resides.
7th. Márraba, about aser (there having been probably a difficulty in crossing the river).
8th. Dómaná. A whole day.
9th. Bísay; about noon.
10th. Bay Kurí.
11th. Bay Toy, one of the four large principalities of the Bay.
12th. Kóman.
13th. Kaktíya.
14th. Múdumbím, one of the four largest principalities or places of Bang-Bay.
15th. Kéni, another of the four principalities.
16th. Debjógemé.
17th. Gómbay.
18th. Tápoló, the principality of the most powerful chief in Bang-Bay.
19th. Másentá.

(*p.*) *From Busó to Bang-Day. Expeditious march, a ghazzia.*

1st day. Tábe, a large place on the south side of the river, which you cross in the morning.

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2nd. Kiyár, a smaller place, at some distance from the river.

3rd. Miltú, a large straggling place close to the S.W. bank of the river.

4th. Báki, at some distance from the river.

5th. Shéggi.

6th. Myl, a large place.

7th. Sará-Gulé, with the chief Koína, son of the renowned Gósdegá, after whom the country and the place is usually named. The inhabitants take their supply of water from wells only.

8th. Dígti, with an independent chief.

9th. Gár-Kúmra, or Sará-Ngár-Kúmra, another principality with a powerful chief.

10th. Bang-Day, another principality on a considerable river, called by my informant—the same from whom I wrote down the itinerary marked (*m.*)—the river of the Fellán, or Fúlbe. Day and Fong are the most important principalities in Sará.

(*q.*) *From Miltú to Day, and from Lay to Day, according to Agíd Músa. South.*

1st day. Myl, a large place. A long march, till sunset; about thirty-five miles.

2nd. Sará-Gósdegá; dhohor (two o'clock P.M.); twenty-five miles. A little east from south.

3rd. Kumra. Till áser; thirty miles. South.

4th. Day, a large place in a densely-populated country on the Upper Shárí, which here flows from south to north, and at Miltú bends to N.W. Dhohor; twenty-five miles. S.S.E.

Lay to Day. S.S.E.

1st day. Bay Fir, an independent principality on the river of Logón.

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2nd. Bay Kagá, another principality belonging to Bay, distant from the river, surrounded by woods, close to Masró.

3rd. Day, after having crossed the river Shárí. According to the express statement of another informant, Day lies on the western bank of the river, in the same way as Kárnak Lógone does.

(*r.*) *Mábbelé to Fong, and from Fong to Busó, according to Háj Sadík.*

1st day. Gúrgará, a pagan place beyond the river. A long march.

2nd. Sotto, a pagan place.

3rd. Gam, another place. The country produces sorghum, beans, millet, and has numerous deléb-palms, also "báwa," a sort of sweet melon (*C. melopepo*).

4th. Jogtó, a large place belonging to Somray, one day from Kim.

5th. Cholól, territory of the chief Kíki.

6th. Pam, a large place possessing both sheep and cattle.

7th. Míddigí.

8th. Ledánga; the whole country level.

9th. Chíre, a place with abundance of palms — date-palms, as it seems.

10th. Bróto.

11th. Múrki, a considerable place, with large trees called "rúm."

12th. Dam Pasár.

13th. Fong or Dam Fong, a considerable territory, called after its chief or "kenús" Fong. Fong is about 30 miles S.W. from Gósdegá as well as from Chíre. Lay a day and a half's march, crossing the river.

From Fong, back to Busó.

1st. Túmmak, on a small watercourse.

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2nd. Myl, a large place. Fálik, close to Myl, eastwards.
3rd. Sek.
4th. U'r. The places and territories last enumerated are disconnected and have distinct "ertána," or at least dialects.
5th. Godák.
6th. Betáng Godák. Gadáng, a large place one day east from here, may be reached in one good day's march from Busó.
7th. Gónda.
8th. Busó.

(*s.*) *Places from Báchikám downwards along the river, and from Más-eñá to Músgu.*

Sigír, Májir, Bakúl, Mánga, Tar ngólo, Bukábe, Mátiya (formerly a considerable place, and capital of an independent territory), with a large market on Saturdays, Márja. From here, if you keep on this side of the river, you come to Bála Mása, or, if you cross it, to Mískin, both on the great river Shárí, which is again joined by the Báchikám at Mébi.

Kókoroché, the place which, next to Búgomán, sends the largest supplies of corn to the capital, lies one hour north from the Báchikám; and the road from here to Bála Mása goes by way of Békeri and Héla.

Más-eñá to Músgu.

1st day. Bekábe or Bukábe, a considerable place, with a clay wall of earth, on the Báchikám.
2nd. Mátiya.
3rd. Mankhfa, a considerable place on the east bank of the Shárí, after crossing the Báchikám in the morning.
4th. Músgu, a Kerdi town on the river of Logón, after crossing the Shárí in the morning. A long march. If you proceed more slowly, and keep along the river, you sleep the first night in O'ñokó, the second in Báingané, and reach Músgu on the third morning.

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From Múgu to Gunna, a large Kerdi place of the Mása, is not above one day's journey.

(*t.*) *Más-eñá to Báng-Bay, according to Agíd Búrku. In a winding direction.*

[Published previously in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," 1852, but here rectified.]

1st day. I'r on the (river) Bá-ír, which is said to flow to the east [west]. In the morning.

2nd. Báchikám, a Bagírmi place on the south side of the same river, or rather arm of the Shárí, at a short distance.

3rd. Garám. Arrived when the heat commenced, but started again at dhohor, and slept in the karága.

4th. Láffaná, on a large river, the Shárí, flowing east. [N. W.]

5th. On the sandy bank of the river, which he crossed in a large boat.

6th. Busó, a place under a powerful chief, on the north bank of the river, which had been crossed again by informant.

7th. Mirtí, an island in the Shárí, possessing a large number of boats. The water, however, is dangerous on account of the numerous crocodiles which infest it.

8th. Halánga, a place on the north bank of the Shárí, under the same chief as Busó.

9th. Tabé, a large place on the south bank of the river, with a mixed population.

10th. Gadáng, a Kerdi place, distant from the river. At dhohor.

11th. Kiyár, a village consisting of several small hamlets, at some distance from the river.

12th. [Miltú], a large place, with numerous horses, belonging at that time (1850) to the powerful chief 'Alí

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Fenjár, who shortly afterwards died in the capital of Bagírmi, as a holy man.

13th. A place of the Bang-Dam (the chief of the Dam), who is the only person in the place who wears clothes. The country contains numerous small hamlets, and is richly wooded; the soil sandy. The inhabitants eat horseflesh.

14th. I'semray (Somray), an extensive district under Sultan (Bang) Wónja, with a clayey soil. Early in the morning.

15th. Another place in I'semray, under the independent chieftain Búrso. In the whole country, water is obtained only from wells two or three fathoms deep. The food of the people is chiefly (red) sorghum. The soil is clayey. The fields are shaded by some large trees.

16th. Fáchang Góngawe, the territory of a powerful chief, which is densely inhabited, and intersected by numerous shallow watercourses ("sél" or "ngáljam"), which, however, only contain water during the rains, when the country becomes impassable.

17th. Gábberí, or rather a place (Jogtó?) of the territory of Gábberí, this name being that of the whole country; a large place, reached in the evening, after a halt at noon. The only weapon of the inhabitants is the hand-bill, called in their language "jígaji." They breed numerous horses and cattle, but are said, nevertheless, like all the inhabitants of the country of Bang-Wônja to eat only dogs' flesh. They kill dogs, sheep, and fowls around a large sycamore ("juméz"), in honour of their deity, accompanying their sacrifices with loud music on cowhides. They pillage and wage war upon each other.

18th. Koriñína, a large place of the sultan Koína (the son of Gósdegá) with a rampart flanked with a palisade, and surrounded on the outside by trees and a

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ditch. In the vicinity of the capital are situated several small hamlets. The inhabitants wear only a leather apron, and do not practise circumcision. They raise abundance of beans.

19th. A large open place (name not known), in the territory of Sará under the chief Gósdegá, the inhabitants of which cultivate plenty of millet, sorghum, and beans, and plant a tree with a date-like fruit, with a large crown, but small leaves, the marrow of which, as white as fat, constitutes their butter and oil. This same tree I afterwards found along the Niger.

20th. Sará-ngár-Kúmra, another place wrongly stated to belong to Sultan Gósdegá, with a stagnant water.

21st. Sará-bé-Day, a place under the chief Sáriya, who possesses numerous horses (on the Upper Shárí). An entire day's march, including halts.

22nd. Yáldang (or Nyéldang), a place inhabited by a tribe of the same name, belonging to the powerful nation of the Búwa, who in time of war retire to a high mountain in the southern part of their country.

23rd. Gamkúl, a place of another tribe of the Búwa, in a sandy tract with rocky ridges, rich in trees, and intersected by small watercourses. Giraffes, lions, elephants, and hogs, are numerous in this tract, and the latter constitute the principal food of the inhabitants.

24th. Dan Mádobó (or Míddobó), under Sultan Garé, beyond a mountain-chain which you cross. The country yields cotton, millet, and sorghum.

25th. Dan Bébe, a place of the chief (gár) Godá. The country, which during the rains is intersected by various streams, yields cotton and sorghum.

26th. Komé, in a mountainous district. The people dwell at the foot of the mountains, which they only ascend in order to harvest their crops, which grow on the mountains. They obtain water from wells only. A short day's journey.

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27th. Kómaré in a mountainous district, where cotton is produced. The inhabitants wear only a belt, and worship a rock as their god; but it is said that there exist some Mohammedans among them.

28th. Andí, a place of the tribe of the Sójigá, who are said to clothe their horses as well as themselves. Andí from Gógomi is two days, *viâ* Jíli. Andí from Gamkúl, north about 30 miles. A mountainous tract. An entire day's journey.

29th. Burdá, a large place of the (gár) Mánga, with a deep lake abounding with fish. (Identical with the lake of Bisá, which is passed between Gógomi and Andí?)

30th. Tamkí, probably a place of the Sókoró, who are armed with spears and bows, the men wearing clothes. They are said to eat lizards, which they boil; they have, however, likewise sorghum. Their country is mountainous.

31st. Góberá, a Kérdi place in a mountainous and richly wooded tract.

32nd. Báng-Bay, a large town on the south bank of a considerable river abounding with fish and flowing eastwards, under the chief Sará Gulá.

All this is quite correct; but this Báng-Bay is altogether different from the territory called Bay, on the river of Logón. According to Ramadhán, the river of Báng-Bay is identical with the bahr Ráshid, which, as he states, flows from here to Tamkí, Andí, Nyéldang and Gamkúl, and falls into the Shárí at Nílem.

The inhabitants, who are in a very rude state of civilization, have only slings; and no cotton is cultivated. Báng-Bay is four days from A'bú Telfán, and two days and a half from Míddogó.

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(*u.*) *Más-eñá to Runga and Sillá, according to Agíd Búrku. Route not in a straight course, but veering westerly.*

1st day. Gíñim, a considerable place, with a rampart, and a large clay-built mosque. A well-wooded tract.

2nd. A'm-jérri, a middling-sized place, surrounded by a stockade, inhabited by elephant and lion-hunters. You pass some wood.

3rd. Kírsuwa (Jibílki?), on a river which flows N.N.W., abounding with fish, and navigated during the rains by the people in bukhsa, those large calabashes described on a former occasion. A woody tract.

4th. Kírsuwa Hírla, a place under a powerful chief, to the south of which is a considerable well-wooded mountain. Of the inhabitants, one-half are pagans, and the other half Moslemín. A long march.

5th. Bedánga, a place surrounded by a palisade, to the west of which is a mountain, only inhabited by pagans, with abundance of fig-trees, which are considered holy. The soil to the north consists of sand, and in the southern part of clay. The wells are about five fathoms deep. The gár (chief) of Bedánga is dependent upon Bagírmi.

6th. Bámmená, a pagan place in a mountainous tract, where water is only obtained from wells. The huts are of reeds. Not distant.

7th. O'le Mántanjá, a large pagan place. The upper parts of the huts consist of reeds, the lower parts of clay. Halt at noon near a large mountain in the wilderness.

8th. Sómo, a place situated partly on the top and partly at the foot of a mountain possessing springs. The inhabitants are pagans; they breed horses, cows, and sheep, eat pork, and cultivate much cotton. Tétel (*Antilope oryx*) abounds here; also an animal called

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wáktotó, resembling a cat, but without a tail (the súmmolí?).

9th. Gellá, a place under an independent chief, on a rivulet flowing south, called Múggerú, abounding with fish, and navigated during the rains in bukhsa.

10th. Gár-Sará, or Ngár-Sará, a large pagan place, under a powerful chieftain of the name of Makét, on a stagnant water (sél), which, during the rains, becomes a running river, and is navigated with bukhsa, or crossed by means of a rope drawn from either side. On the way you halt at a group of four wells at the base of a mountain.

11th. Dámbar, a large pagan place, consisting merely of reed huts, under the chieftain Gár-Dogó, and the native place of my informant.

12th. Bánam, a large place, close to which is a high mountain, called "tot Shímme." The country produces millet, sesamum, sorghum, and much cotton. The field-labour is not done by the women, as is general in Negroland, but by the men, the women having the upper hand.

13th. Górgor, a place nominally under Bagírmi, on a rivulet in a mountainous, rocky tract, the rock being partly of red, partly of blue colour. The mountains are steep. The inhabitants are armed with spear and sword (the latter very remarkable), rarely with bows.

14th. Leté, in a mountainous tract, short distance.

15th. Bubú, a middle-sized place.

16th. Chélemí, a large place.

17th. Kénga Matáya, a large place, under a powerful chief, on the western side of a watercourse running from north to south. Near Kénga a mountain rises as steep as a wall, presenting colours as richly chequered as those of a carpet, and densely inhabited by birds, whence it is called "the birds' rock." At the foot of this mountain the inhabitants celebrate,

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during summer, a great festival in a large hut, their temple, at the top of which an urn is suspended, which is said to be raised by supernatural powers on the approach of an enemy, and to descend again on his retreat. The people slaughter here fowls and sheep, and bring sorghum and beans, which they sow, the crop being said to start forth immediately, so that they reap, boil, and eat it the same day. Then they place a woman, in splendid attire, on a kárru or wooden mortar, on each side of the hut, who are said to be transformed into horses, and to beat the kárru, which itself rises up in the shape of a horse.

These fabulous statements, on whatever imposture they may rest, were repeated to me by several most credible informants, quite independently the one of the other. The vessel or urn suspended at the top of the hut is said to represent their deity. According to the experienced Ramadhán Degéji, the following places lie at short distances from each other, in the mountainous tract between Kénga and Belél-Kolé:—Gér (Gére, see lower down), a large and populous district, rather mountainous; Sára, under Sultan Mokhé; Bedánga, Bámmená, Bajáwu and Mére (another village situated on the top of a mount, and on the watercourse running to Andí, Jená, Kédil, Kótkol, Belél Kolé).

18th. Sár, a large place on and at the base of a high hill, on which stands the chief's dwelling, surrounded with a rampart. The sultan feasts, at 'Aíd el kebír, the chiefs subjected to his dominion, on receiving their tribute, by slaughtering a great number of cattle.

19th. Doy, a large place under an independent chieftain; not distant.

20th. Dángal, a place on the top of a mountain in a mountainous tract.

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21st. Bánal, a large place with a great body of horsemen, situated at the foot of a steep mountain. This mountain-range is said to extend a month's journey, and to contain numerous villages. In its valleys, watercourses are formed during the rains, and it contains numerous small lakes, abounding with fish. The inhabitants wear clothes, and possess numerous herds. It is said that the cold on these mountains is sometimes very severe, and that snow and hail fall occasionally. The whole country is under the supremacy of Kénga.

22nd. I'yon, a large place at the foot of a mountain, under Kénga.

23rd. Tamkí (see above) a large place under the chief Bishára Milkéte. Tamkí, in a straight line from Kénga, is only one day S.W.

24th. Góberá, a place on a mountain, consisting of a rock of red colour, the inhabitants of which are armed with bows and arrows, and are very formidable. This tract contains several watercourses.

25th. Jayá, a group of several villages on the top of a mountain.

26th. Miñedogó.

27th. Míddogó, a place, or rather district, mountainous, and comprising about 40 hamlets lying around an isolated mountain, under the chieftain A'bú Khódr. The inhabitants, on the inroad of the Wáday people in 1852, retired to the mountain, which they held for seven months, till the Wáday army retired.

28th. Dróngoló, a village of the A'fanín, as they are called, a section of, or rather an indigenous tribe subjected to, the Kúka in the valley of the Bat-há, with stagnant pools.

29th. Kúnjur, a place of the Kúka.

30th. A'm-Kharúba, a district comprising numerous hamlets on the Bat-há, which is fringed with dúm-palms. A very short distance.

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31st. Kórnay, a large place of the Kúka, consisting entirely of reed-huts. The principal produce is millet.

32nd. Birket Fátima, a large stagnant water on the north bank of the Bat-há. Informant now turns south.

33rd. A large place of the Másmajé, Arab cattle-breeders at the foot of a mountain, the summit of which is inhabited by pagans. The district abounds with large trees.

34th. A considerable village of the Dájó. In the Khalla a large number of Fullán, as the Fúlbe are there called, graze their herds.

35th. Kórbe (?) a large place, or rather district, of the Másalát, or Másalít (whom my informant erroneously takes to be Arabs) with numerous herds, of a very thievish disposition, on a watercourse called Bérekat. North of the Másalát, according to my informant, there is no watercourse properly speaking.

36th. A hamlet of the Salamát Arabs, mixed with pagans, and themselves pagans; on the bahr e' Tíni, a stagnant water.

37th. A district of the Welád Ráshid, name not known.

38th. A large place of the Bándalá, in a district rich in honey.

39th. Dár Séli, an extensive district quite level and bare of trees.

40th. Sofálawén, a small village inhabited by Arabs, stated by my informant to be pagans, under 'Abd e' Rahmán Jóko.

41st. A large place under the sovereign of Runga, name not known. The country is traversed by various mountains.

42nd. Dár Shilá, a mountainous country with a river flowing eastwards, beyond which is Dár Dínga.

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(*v.*) *From Kúkawa, by way of Logón Bírni and Busó to* (*the Western*) *Bang-Bay, according to Slave-traders.*

1st day. Ngórnu.
2nd. Ngála.
3rd. A'fadé.
4th. Kála Kabé.
5th. Hállebú.
6th. Kála Gurú.
7th. Kárnak Lógone, or Logón Bírni.
8th. Kúbu ngólo, a large town surrounded by a rampart.
9th. Búgomán, a large town under Sultan Másseri, on the west bank of the Shárí.
10th. Mayemba, or Mankhfa, on the east bank of the large river.
11th. Músgu, a tract comprising a number of hamlets, with some isolated eminences. You always keep along the watercourse.
12th. Baleñére.
13th. Mondó.
14th. Muró.
15th. Gurumbánga.
16th. Gadó.
17th. Kókochó.
18th. Máfelé, constantly along the river.
19th. Láffaná.
20th. Busó, a large place under a powerful chief.
21st. Mirtí, a village on an island in the Shárí.
22nd. Birrí, still on the river.
23rd. Móngolá, under the chieftain Biñígo.
24th. Mútu, a place on the same river, with abundance of boats, ngurútu, and crocodiles, and surrounded by a dense wood.
25th. Bargná, a considerable village.
26th. Yó, another pagan place.

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27th. Billay, the last place on the Shárí.
28th. Nígi, a village situated in a tract intersected by small watercourses, which join the river.
29th. Tógilá, on the Báchikám.
30th. Kérbe, a large place in a woody tract.
31st. Górewó.
32nd. Búkkabé, a place situated on a river.
33rd. Limmírkay, on the large river, one day from Attar.
34th. Békang. The inhabitants of all these places go naked, are only armed with the hand-bill, and eat dogs' flesh.
35th. Kórbol, another village on the same river.
36th. Búwa Dasár, so called from the chief Dasár. The people eat beef and horseflesh, and gird their loins with horsetails. The "délu"-tree is said to be their deity.
37th. Kóna.
38th. Nyégel.
39th. Nílem, a place on a headland between the Shárí, towards the west, and a tributary of the latter, the river of Andí, on the east side.
40th. Kunnó.
41st Jénge, a large place at the foot of a mountain which here starts up from the plain.
42nd. Gasháffar, a village in a mountainous district.
43rd. Téngi, a place in a mountainous tract on the west bank of a river (the Shárí ?).
44th. Fátum, in a woody plain on the river.
45th. Kóm.
46th. Kúmra (Sará-ngár-Kúmra) in a mountainous tract.
47th. Báng-Bay, in a hilly tract, with four chiefs, one of whom is Jímdil.
48th. Kúdumúr, a place near a mountain.
49th. Géjjemir, a village with a mountain and a river to the south.
50th. Báng-Derír, a mountainous tract with a river, abounding in the tree called kó, which bears a large fruit.

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51st. Day, in a mountainous tract, with a river.
52nd. Gurál, a place situated in a level tract, inhabited by a fierce race of people of a red colour.
53rd. Cholól, residence of the chief Kíki.
54th. Jogtó, a large place. All short marches.
55th. Mugmó, in a woody plain with small watercourses without a current, producing millet, and abounding with elephants and beasts of prey, particularly hyænas.
56th. Gam, a place in a level tract, the inhabitants of which go naked, are only armed with the hand-bill, and eat dogs' flesh.
57th. Somray, in a plain, with small watercourses.
58th. Yálma, in a plain. You here change your course.
59th. Dólemá, in a level tract, subject to Somray, with large trees, producing only millet. The people breed dogs, cattle, and pigs.
60th. Chíre, a large place.
61st. Gábberí, in a plain, devoid of running water, and having only wells.
62nd. Kímre.

(*x.*) *From Más-eñá, by way of Gáwi to Máwó, according to Agid Músa,*

Who, nine years ago was sent by 'Othmán Búgomán to Kánem, to pay his respects to Mohammed, the son of 'Abd el Jelíl, and to deliver to him a number of slaves as a present, by way of opening negotiations. Músa, however, barely escaped being killed by the khalífa 'Alí, the governor of Máwó and a partisan of Wáday; and the negotiations were soon broken off in consequence of the insecurity of the road.

1st day. A'bú-Gher (see above).
2nd. Chekká.
3rd. Dérja.
4th. Méddebá, on the Shárí, a little above Klésem.

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5th. Gáwi, a town formerly of importance, but containing at present, after having been destroyed by the sheikh Mohammed el Kánemí, who, assisted by Mústafa el A'hmar and Mukní, took it, after a long resistance, in A.H. 1234—only a small population. Gáwi from Klésem about 20 miles.

6th. A place of the Yamanúk Arabs, or the Dághana, on a sheet of water.

7th. Kídik.

8th. Babáliyá, formerly the capital of an independent territory, with a peculiar dialect like that of Búgomán; at present nearly deserted, since its destruction together with Gáwi in 1234 A.H., and possessing but a very small remnant of population. Bábaliyá is about twelve miles from the Shárí, and thirty miles, or a long day's journey, from Gáwi.

9th. Ziyán, a place belonging to Kárká or Kargha.

10th. A hamlet belonging to Kárká, not far from the lake.

11th.
12th.
13th.
14th. } Híllelát (small hamlets) of Kárká.

15th. A village of the Nefása.

16th. A village of the Kánem Arabs. A long night's march, from áser (four o'clock, P.M.) till the next morning.

17th. Máwó.

From Babáliyá to Moító, according to Ramadhán Degéjí.

1st day. Augúra, a place of the Kúka.

2nd. Dimdim, a wádí whence the inhabitants of Moító fetch natron, and much frequented by the Shúwa, who like to graze their herds therein.

3rd. Kargha.

4th. Babáliyá.

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From Más-eñá to Méddebá.

1st. Bákadá,
2nd. Kóllekólle,
3rd. Márga,
} Separated by short distances. Very easy to be performed in two days.

4th. Jógodé, a large place inhabited by Kanúri, with a khalífa.
5th. Méddebá.

(*y.*) *Places on the Shári, descending the river from Búgomán.*

Below Búgomán are situated on the river:—Yaúya; Bála Mása, with a rampart; Kuljí; A'su or Aisu, with a rampart in the utmost state of decay; Ndára; Mai Dalá; Gédiyé, and Mélé.

Below Mélé are situated on the river:—Méddebá; Klésem, a considerable place, with a peculiar dialect, twenty miles from Mélé; Tibálo; Shégguwa or Kinjí Búrgu, with the ford of Siña-Fácha, where the river of Logón, or the lághame Lógone (the Arre of the Músgu), falls into the Shárí; Gulfé; Mafáng; Sháwi, a place well-known from Denham's description; Makari, a very important place, which, it is much to be regretted, we were prevented from visiting.

For the very important itinerary of an expedition undertaken from A'm-majúra in Dár Fúr, in a south-westerly direction, through Bánda (called Dár Bánda) to the borders of a large river running westward, which must be one of the great objects of discovery to future expeditions, see Journal of the Royal Geog. Soc., 1853, vol. xxiii. p. 120.

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X.

FRAGMENTS OF A METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER.

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1851. July			
28	sunrise	78·8	Sky overcast, a few drops of rain; 8.30 a.m. a heavy thunder-storm, with rain till 11 o'clock.
	noon	79·7	
29	noon	87·8	In the night some more rain.
30	sunrise	77	
	noon	93·2	
	sunset	89·6	
31	sunrise	74	A thunder-storm early in the morning; 10 a.m. a few drops of rain.
	noon	89·6	
	sunset	86	
Aug.			
1	No observation.		
2	noon	95	
3 } 4 }	No thermometrical observation.		Heavy thunder-storm in the night of the 2nd, with the most plentiful fall of rain which we had during this season. In the night of the 4th another very heavy fall of rain, lasting till the morning, and not accompanied by any thunder or lightning.
5	- -	-	9·15 a.m. a heavy shower lasting till 11 o'clock, preceded by gusts of wind, and followed by a few claps of thunder.
	1 p.m.	73·4	
6	noon	84·2	In the morning sky overcast.
7	noon	78·8	At 10·30 a.m. rain.
8	noon	89·6	The morning fine; about noon sky overcast; about 2 p.m. heavy thunder-storm with much rain.
9	sunrise	71·6	In the morning rainy; afterwards the sun broke forth.
10 } 11 }	No thermometrical observation		Fine weather.
12	sunrise	-	11 a.m. very heavy shower, but only of short duration.
	noon	73·4	
13 } 14 }	No observation.		
15	- -	- -	About 11 o'clock a.m. rain; and again in the afternoon.

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1851.			
Aug.			
16	- -	-	Sky overcast.
17 } 18 }	No observation.		
19	noon	88·7	Fine weather.
20	- -	-	In the night a thunder-storm, with heavy rain.
21	No observation.		
22	noon	89·6	Sky overcast.
23	noon	91·4	At 9 p.m. heavy thunder-storm, with a tolerable quantity of rain.
24	noon	87·8	A cold northerly wind.
25	No observation.		
26	- -	-	7½ a.m. a heavy thunder-storm, with moderate rain.
27 } 28 }	No observation.		
29	- -	-	Fine weather.
30	noon	89·6	
31	No observation.		
Sept.			
1	- -	-	Fine weather.
2	noon	77	10 o'clock, thunder-storm, with heavy rain.
3	- -	-	In the morning, till near noon, rain; afterwards fine weather.
4	noon	87·8	In the afternoon some rain.
5	No observation.		
6	noon	89·6	
7	- -	-	A good deal of rain, at times heavier, at others gentle.
8	noon	86	
9	noon	89·6	
10	No observation.		
11	- -	-	Heavy dew.
12	noon	91·4	
13	noon	89·6	Sky overcast. Sun gradually broke forth.
1851.			
Sept.			
14	sunrise	77	
15	- -	-	Heavy gale.
16	sunrise	72·5	
17	No observation.		
18	2 p.m.	98·6	(Town of Yó.)
19	2 p.m.	98·6	
20	2 p.m.	96·8	Heavy easterly gale.
	sunset	87·8	
21 } 22 }	No observation.		
23	2.30 p.m.	89·6	Thunder-storm, with a little rain.
24 to 29 }	No observation.		27th, storm, with considerable rain in the afternoon.
30	sunrise	69·8	(Kánem.)
	1 p.m.	102·2	A hot northerly wind from the desert.
Oct.			
1	2 p.m.	106·7	
2	No observation.		
3	noon	101·3	
	2 p.m.	104	
4	noon	100·4	
	2 p.m.	104	
5	noon	98·6	
	6.15 p.m.	96·8	
6	noon	100·4	
	2 p.m.	105·8	
7	sunrise	68	
	noon	102·2	
	2 p.m.	105·5	
8	noon	103	
	2 p.m.	105·8	
9	noon	101	
	2 p.m.	104	About 2 o'clock p.m. a thunder-storm towards S.E.; about sunset a little rain.
	noon	104	
10	2 p.m.	111	A thunder-storm. A little rain in the evening.

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1851. Oct.			
11	noon	101·3	At noon thunder-storm gathering on all sides. At 2 p.m. a little rain.
12	noon	98·6	
	2 p.m.	100·4	
13	- -	-	Strong northerly gale.
14			
15	noon	101·3	
16 to 21	No observation.		
22	noon	100·4	
23	2 p.m.	108	
24	2 p.m.	109·4	
25	1 p.m.	109	
26	2 p.m.	107·6	
27	noon	105·8	
	2 p.m.	108·5	After 3 o'clock, a thunder-storm from the south; rain towards the west.
28	No observation.		
29	2 p.m.	100·4	
30 to Dec. 1	No observation.		
2	1 p.m.	96·8	
3	sunrise	64·4	
	1.30 p.m.	96·8	
4	No observation.		
5	1.30 p.m.	82·4	(Dikowa.) Thick fog in the morning, as was often the case at this season.
6	1.30 p.m.	95	
7	No observation.		
8	1.30 p.m.	94	
9 10	No observation.		
11	1.30 p.m.	89·6	
12	sunrise	53·5	
	1.30 p.m.	90·5	
13	No observation.		

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1851. Dec.			
14	sunrise	51·8	
15	No observation.		
16	sunrise	55·4	
17	No observation.		
18	5.30 p.m.	55·4	
19	sunrise	52·7	
20	sunrise	51·8	
	2 p.m.	86	
21	sunrise	51	
22	sunrise	51·8	
23 to 25	No observation.		
26	sunrise	56·3	
27	sunrise	56·3	
	sunset	74·3	
28 29	No observation.		
30	sunrise	61·7	
31	No observation.		
1852. Jan.			
1	No observation.		(Wúliya, Músgu.)
2	sunrise	60·8	
3	sunrise	59	
	noon	96·8	
4	noon	95	
	sunset	82·4	
5	No observation.		
6	sunrise	59	
7	sunrise	59	
	1.30 p.m.	100·4	
8	6 a.m.	59	
	1 p.m.	91·4	
	sunset	77	
9	sunrise	57·2	
	2 p.m.	96·8	
	sunset	78·8	
10	No observation.		
11	sunrise	62·6	
	1.30 p.m.	95	In cool shade.
		100·4	In ventilated tent.
	sunset	82·4	
12	sunrise	59	
	1 p.m.	87·8	
	sunset	77	

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852. Jan.			
13	sunrise	56·5	
	1.30 p.m.	84·2	In very cool shade, with cool northerly breeze.
	sunset	74·3	
14	sunrise	56·3	
15	sunrise	51	
	noon	87	
	sunset	70·7	
16	sunrise	52·7	
	noon	91·4	
17	sunrise	55·4	
	1.30 p.m.	89·6	
18	sunrise	57·2	
	1 p.m.	86	
19, 20	No observation.		
21	sunrise	58	
	sunset	75·2	
22	sunrise	56·3	
23	sunrise	59	
24	No observation.		
25	sunrise	56·3	
26	sunrise	52·7	
	1.30 p.m.	93·2	
	sunset	75·2	
27	sunrise	57·2	
28	noon	98·6	
29	sunrise	59	
30, 31	No observation.		
Feb.			
1	No observation.		(Kúkawa.)
2	sunrise	56·3	
	noon	75·2	
	sunset	65·3	
3	sunrise	59	
	12.45	70·7	
4	sunrise	55·4	
	sunset	71·6	
5	sunrise	61·7	
	noon	78	
	sunset	72·5	
6	sunrise	63·5	
	12.15	80·6	
	sunset	75·8	

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852. Feb.			
7	sunrise	62·6	
	noon	84·2	
	sunset	77	
8	sunrise	62·6	
	1 p.m.	81·5	
	sunset	78·3	
9	sunrise	63·5	
	noon	87·8	
	sunset	79·7	
10	sunrise	64·4	
	noon	87·8	
	sunset	79·7	
11	sunrise	68·0	
	noon	95·0	
	sunset	81·5	
12	sunrise	70·2	
	noon	92·0	
	sunset	86·0	
13	sunrise	69·8	
	noon	98·6	
	sunset	87·8	
14	sunrise	70·7	Heavy gale.
	1.30 p.m.	98·6	
15	sunrise	69·8	
	1.30 p.m.	98·6	
	sunset	86	
16	sunrise	69·8	
	12.45	98·6	
	sunset	87·8	
17	sunrise	71·6	
	12.45	102·2	
	sunset	86·0	
18	sunrise	69·8	
	1.45 p.m.	101	
	sunset	87·8	
19	sunrise	70·7	
	1.30 p.m.	98·6	The evening foggy.
20	sunrise	67·3	
	12.45	102·2	
21	sunrise	68	All this time much sickness in Kúkawa.
	1.15	99·5	
	sunset	86	
22	sunrise	66·2	
	1.45	89·6	
	sunset	79·7	

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852.			
Feb.			
23	sunrise	68·0	
	1.30	88·7	
	sunset	78·8	
24	sunrise	67	
	1 p.m.	87	
	sunset	77	
25	sunrise	64·4	
26	sunrise	65·5	
	1 p.m.	89	
	sunset	80·6	
27	sunrise	66·2	
	2 p.m.	91	
	sunset	80·6	
28	sunrise	67	
	1 p.m.	91·4	
	sunset	82·4	
March			
1	sunrise	67·3	
	12.30	91·4	
	sunset	86·0	
2	sunrise	69	
	1 p.m.	96·8	
	sunset	86	
3	sunrise	71·6	
	1 p.m.	100·4	
4	sunrise	71·6	
	1.30 p.m.	95	
5	1.30 p.m.	97·7	
	sunset	86	
6	sunrise	78·8	
	1.30 p.m.	99·5	
	sunset	80·6	
7	sunrise	71·6	
	1.30 p.m.	94	
	sunset	84·2	
8	sunrise	71·6	
	1.30 p.m.	96·8	
	sunset	86	
9	No observation.		
10	sunrise	70·5	
	1.30 p.m.	98·2	
	sunset	89	
11	No observation.		
12	1.30	94	
13	- -	-	Logón birni. About 2.30 p.m. a little rain.

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852.			
March			
14	sunrise	71·6	
15	2 p.m.	94·1	
16	1.30 p.m.	98·2	
17	sunrise	75·2	Sky overcast; thick clouds.
18	1 p.m.	96·8	
19	No observation.		
20	1.30 p.m.	92·8	
21	sunrise	57·7	
	sunset	83·3	
22	1.30 p.m.	100	
23	sunrise	58	
	2 p.m.	101·5	
24	sunrise	62·6	
	1.30 p.m.	102·2	
	sunset	87·8	Sky overcast.
25	sunrise	69·4	
	2 p.m.	98·6	
26 to 30	No observation.		
31	noon	104·7	
	1.30	107·4	(Bákadá)
April			
1	sunrise	63	
	1.30 p.m.	106·2	
	sunset	91·8	
2	sunrise	66·6	
	1.30 p.m.	105·3	
	sunset	87·8	
3	sunrise	73	The first thunder-storm of the rainy season. The sky, in the morning, thickly overcast; the air moist. The sun broke through the clouds after 9 o'clock; but half-an hour past noon the thunder-storm broke forth at a short distance towards the south, from whence it proceeded, reaching us at 1 p.m.

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852. April			
3	12.30	102·7	From 1 o'clock to 1.23 large drops of rain, followed by heavy gusts of wind.
	1.30	87·8	
	sunset	85·1	
4	sunrise	73	
	noon	100·4	About 11 o'clock thick rain-clouds gathering, but no rain.
5	sunrise	81·5	About 5 o'clock in the morning the thunder-storm broke forth, with light rain lasting till about 8 a.m. Then the sun broke through the clouds, while the thunder continued. At 9.30 a.m. again a little rain; the sky remaining overcast the rest of the day.
	1.30 p.m.	91·4	
	sunset	90·5	
6	sunrise	76·3	Sky thickly overcast; storm towards the north.
	1.15 p.m.	105·4	
7	sunrise	72	
	1 p.m.	106·7	
	2 p.m.	109·4	
	sunset	94·6	
8	sunrise	76·5	Sky overcast; at 11 o'clock a little rain began, often interrupted, the thunder-storm gradually turning to the north.
	noon	94·5	
	1.15 p.m.	104	
	sunset	92·5	About 8 p.m. a thunder-storm arose from the east, accompanied by much wind, but only little rain; night very oppressive.
9	sunrise	80	The sky overcast; atmosphere oppressive. About 8 o'clock a few drops of rain.
	2 p.m.	98·6	
10	1 p.m.	104	About 3 a.m. a thunder-storm, without wind, but accompanied by considerable rain, which lasted for about an hour and a half.
11	sunset	100	
	sunrise	76·3	Sky overcast.
	1.30 p.m.	103	
	sunset	87·4	In the evening a thunder-storm gathered from the west, but bringing only a few drops of rain.
12	sunrise	75·6	Sky overcast; sultry.
	1.30 p.m.	95·5	About 2 p.m. a thunder-storm in the distance eastward, gradually approaching, and sending forth, at sunset, uninterrupted peals of thunder and flashes of lightning, with only a few drops of rain, but heavy squalls of wind lasting till about 8 p.m.; a heavy shower followed, lasting for about two hours.
	sunset	99·3	

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852. April			
13	sunrise	70·5	
	1.30 p.m.	101·7	
	sunset	91·4	
14	sunrise	73·4	
	noon	101·7	About noon the sky
	2.30 p.m.	94	became thickly overcast, and at 1 p.m. a few large drops fell, followed by a shower for about ten minutes; the sky remained overcast.
	sunset	88·2	
15	sunrise	76·6	About 7 o'clock in the morning a few drops fell, but afterwards the sky cleared up; and in the
	1.30 p.m.	96·8	afternoon a fresh
	2 p.m.	101·4	breeze arose. In the following
	sunset	90	night a little rain.
16	sunrise	80·2	In the morning the sky overcast, and a little rain fell.
	1 p.m.	99·7	About noon a heavy wind arose from S.E., and the sky became again thickly overcast.
	sunset	80·6	
17	No observation.		
18	- -	-	At 2 o'clock in the morning a heavy N.E. wind arose.
19	No observation.		
20	- -	-	Sultry day.
21	1.20 p.m.	104·4	At 2 p.m. a thunder-storm gathered from S.E. At 3.30 o'clock it began raining, first slightly, but from 3.45 to 4.15, a heavy shower

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852. April			followed, greatly refreshing the temperature. The rain then ceased, while the thunder continued, with heavy squalls from E.N.E.; but at sunset the rain began afresh, and lasted for full two hours.
22	No observation.		
23	1.15 p.m.	100·4	The sun broke through the thunder-clouds about 8 a.m.
24	noon	102·2	The sky overcast, but no rain.
25	12.30	95·4	At 4 p.m. a heavy shower, but of short duration, followed but not preceded by thunder.
26	1.45 p.m.	101·8	Sky thickly overcast; the sun breaking through the clouds at 9.30 a.m., the atmosphere remaining sultry. In the afternoon a thunder-storm accompanied by heavy squalls of wind, but no rain.
27	- -	-	Atmosphere sultry. (Más-eñá).
28	- -	-	In the afternoon a thunder - storm gathered, but brought us only a few drops of rain in the evening.
29	- -	-	The sky the whole day overcast; in

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1852. April			
			the afternoon a storm gathered in the south, but not accompanied by rain.
30	- -	-	In the afternoon a thunder - storm arose, followed by a considerable rain the following night, lasting about two hours.
May 1	- -	-	Sky overcast; the sun breaking through the clouds about 10 a.m., but only for a few moments. At 4 p.m. thick thunder - clouds, with much heat-lightning, but no rain.
2	- -	-	About 5.30 p.m. dark thunder-clouds gathered, but passed by westward.
3	- -	-	A little before 9 p.m. thunder - clouds from S.W., with heavy squalls, followed at 9 o'clock by a heavy shower, lasting about two hours.
4	- -	-	No thunder-storm.
5	1 p.m.	90·5	Fine weather.
	sunset	88·2	
6	1 p.m.	93·6	Beautiful weather.
7	1.30	95	Beautiful morning, in the afternoon heavy squalls of wind.
8	1.30	96·8	Fine day.
9	1.15	95·7	
10	1.30	97·3	
11	2 p.m.	98·6	
12	2 p.m.	98·1	
13	- -	-	At 9.30 a.m. a heavy gale.
14	1.45 p.m.	95	Sky thickly overcast, the sun shining forth only now and then; at about 11 a.m. the weather cleared up, but became again overcast in the afternoon; and at 2 o'clock a thunder-storm gathered, but without bringing us much rain.
	4.30 p.m.	96·6	
15	- -	-	The sky overcast the whole day. At 1.45 p.m. distant thunder towards the east; at 4 p.m. it began raining, and continued till five with considerable violence, then ceased and began again with sunset, accompanied by thunder now and then, and lasting in a uniform way till 8.30 the next morning.
16	2 p.m.	86	The sky having cleared up a little before noon again became overcast in the afternoon.
17	- -	-	Sky thickly overcast; the sun breaking through

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1852. May			
			the clouds about 10 o'clock.
	1.30 p.m.	88·7	
18	- -	-	The weather dull.
19	2 p.m.	91·4	Fine day.
20	- -	-	No thunder-storm.
21	sunrise	75·2	At noon light thunder - clouds gathered, bringing a heavy gale, but no rain, and the weather soon cleared up.
22	- -	-	No storm.
23	sunrise	68	Fine fresh morning.
24	sunrise	77	Fine weather, light clouds gathered in the course of the afternoon, and in the evening heat-lightning.
	1.15 p.m.	96	
25	2 p.m.	96·8	Windy; sky a little overcast. In the afternoon after 5 o'clock thunder - clouds from west, as well as N.E., and in the latter direction much heat-lightning without thunder. After sunset a little rain, very little in the town, more outside.
26	sunrise	74·3	Sky a little overcast, in the evening a thunder-storm, but not accompanied by rain in the interior of the town.
	2.30 p.m.	89·6	
27	sunrise	78·8	Sky a little overcast.
	1.30 p.m.	96·8	
1852. May			
28	sunrise	75·2	
	1.30 p.m.	95·4	
	sunset	92·3	After sunset heat-lightning and wind.
29	sunrise	72·5	
	2 p.m.	96·1	At 5 p.m. a little rain with sunshine; a single thunder-clap being heard.
30	sunrise	74·7	
	1 p m.	95·5	At 2 p.m. heavy gusts of wind.
31	- -	-	Weather clear.
June 1	- -	-	Sky overcast, at 6.45 a.m. a little rain, with distant thunder. Afterwards the weather cleared up.
2	- -	-	Sky overcast, the sun not coming forth before 5 p.m.
3	- -	-	Sky overcast, chilly atmosphere, with a strong south-easterly wind, till at length the sun broke through the clouds and scattered them.
4	- -	-	About 9 p.m. a thunder - storm gathered, accompanied by only a little rain.
5	No observation.		
6	- -	-	At 3.30 p.m. a very heavy thunder-storm, with violent squalls of wind from the north, followed by a heavy shower, but of short duration.

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1852. June			
7	sunrise	75·2	Sky thickly overcast.
8	sunrise	76·3	
	1.30 p.m.	95·5	Thick clouds, portending a storm; the sun broke through the clouds at 9 a.m. In the evening heat-lightning towards the west.
9	- -	-	Weather clear.
10	sunrise	77·4	
	1.45 p.m.	95·4	In the afternoon thunder - clouds gathering, and at 4 p.m. a light rain.
11	2 p.m.	95	After 4 p.m. a thunder - storm from the south, but without rain.
12	sunrise	74·1	
	2 p.m.	92·7	In the evening heat-lightning towards W.N.W.
13	sunrise	77	
	1.45	93·2	In the afternoon thunder - clouds gathering with distant thunder towards the west at 3.30. At 5.30 heavy rain towards the north, but none in the town (Más-eñá).
14	sunrise	80·6	Sky overcast from
	1.30 p.m.	93·2	3 p.m.; heavy thunder-storm towards N.E. It began raining with us at 3.30, mostly heavily, at times more gently, till 7 o'clock in the evening. Also the following night a little rain.
1852. June			
15	sunrise	74·5	Sky thickly overcast, at 6·25 a.m. again a little rain, the sun breaking through the clouds at 1 p.m.
	2 p.m.	86	
	sunset	74·5	
16	sunrise	70·7	Sky overcast.
	2 p.m.	87	In the evening heat - lightning towards N. and N.E.
17	sunrise	77·5	Sky overcast; the sun breaking forth only now and then. About 6 p.m. a thunder-storm gathered from the west, but did not reach us; while another storm rose from E.S.E., but likewise ended in nothing but heat-lightning, and passed by without any rain.
18	sunrise	73·4	Sky thickly overcast; the sun
	2 p.m.	89·6	breaking forth only now and then. At 4 p.m. thunder - storm from the west, but without bringing rain. Heavy squalls of wind after sunset.
19	sunrise	73·8	(N.B. broke the last thermometer I had with me at the time.) 2.30 p.m. distant thunder heard, a heavy thunder-storm gathering from

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1852. June			
			the east, overclouding the whole sky, but without bringing us any rain. In the evening heat-lightning.
20	- -	-	Weather clear.
21	- -	-	5 p.m. a thunderstorm with a heavy gale, but without rain.
22	- -	-	Sky overcast; the sun not breaking through the clouds before the afternoon, and only from time to time. In the evening heat-lightning towards W. and E.N.E.
23	- -	-	The sky in the morning clearer, till at 12.30, a thunderstorm gathered from S.W., when at 1 p.m. a few drops fell, and at 2.30 a little more rain.
24	- -	-	The morning clear; at 6 p.m. a thunderstorm gathering in the east, but only bringing a few drops of rain.
25	- -	-	In the preceding night a moderate fall of rain, lasting about two hours; about 3.30 p.m. a heavy gale arose, and the sky became overcast towards the east.
1852. June			
26	- -	-	Weather clear.
27	- -	-	3 p.m. a thunder-storm from W.S.W.; however only a few drops fell, the storm going southward.
28	- -	-	The morning fine, the sky being covered with cumuli. About 4 p.m. a heavy thunderstorm gathered from the west, where it discharged itself without bringing us more than a few drops.
29	- -	-	Sky in the morning clear, in the afternoon cloudy, in the night a little rain.
30	- -	-	Sky overcast; about 5 p.m. a thunderstorm gathered, but without rain in the beginning, till the clouds having discharged themselves towards the west and the north, it began raining with us at 7 p.m., the rain lasting half an hour with great violence, after which it continued more moderately.
July 1	- -	-	A violent shower near morning, lasting about an

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852. July			hour and a half; the whole morning showers continued to fall in drops till 11 a.m., when the sun broke through the clouds about 2 p.m.
2	- -	-	The forenoon clear till about 3 p.m. a thick thunder-storm gathered from S.W., but dispersed in a southerly and north-westerly direction, without bringing us a single drop of rain.
3	- -	-	At 5.30 p.m. a thunder - storm gathered from the south, followed by a violent shower, lasting about twenty minutes, and after an interval by two other showers not quite so heavy.
4	- -	-	About sunset a thunder - storm from east, followed by heavy rain, which after a short interval began once more, and continued till about morning.
5	- -	-	The sky in the morning thickly overcast, and a little rain fell.
6	- -	-	No rain.
7	- -	-	About noon a thunder-storm gathered from west, and about 3 p.m. a few drops fell; followed at 4 o'clock by a violent rain, lasting half an hour, and a little later some more rain.
8	- -	-	Sky the whole day overcast, the atmosphere oppressive, and about noon a little rain.
9	- -	-	Sky overcast, the sun only occasionally breaking through the clouds, and a few drops of rain fell; at 3 p.m., some more rain, and at 6 in the evening a heavy shower, lasting till eleven o'clock without any thunder or lightning.
10	- -	-	The sky at times overcast, at others clear.
11	- -	-	Sky in the morning clear; about noon thunder - clouds gathered from the south, and about 1.30 p.m. a heavy shower fell, lasting with equal violence for an hour, then less heavy till 5 o'clock.
12	- -	-	The sky not clear, the atmosphere moist, till the weather cleared

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852. July			
			up about noon, when it became warmer. About 10 o'clock in the evening a heavy gale arose, followed by rain, which lasted till morning.
13	- -	-	Sky overcast, till about noon, the sun broke through the clouds. In the evening a thunder-storm gathered from the south, accompanied with heavy rain, lasting a quarter of an hour, then more moderate, and again a very heavy shower.
14	- -	-	Sky in the morning not clear, till the sun broke brightly through the clouds. In the evening heat-lightning.
15	- -	-	Sky in the morning clear; about noon, when a cold wind had risen, overcast; at 6.30 p.m. a powerful thunder-storm gathered from S.E. accompanied by rain, which lasted till 7.45 p.m. with equal violence, and more temperate till 9.20.
16	- -	-	The day fine, but rather oppressive
1852. July			
			about noon; no thunder-storm.
17	- -	-	The sky in the morning overcast with cumuli; 4 p.m. a heavy thunder-storm gathering from S.W. and another from north, at the same time followed by rain at 6.20, lasting with more or less violence till 8.10, and after a short interval continuing once more.
18	- -	-	The sky overcast in the morning.
19	- -	-	At 5 p.m. a black thunder-storm gathering from S.W. followed by heavy rain, lasting from 6.30 to 9 o'clock, the first hour with great violence.
20	- -	-	At 5.45 a.m. the rain commenced again, and continued till 8.45. At 1 p.m. again a little rain; at 3 o'clock another light fall, and from 8 o'clock in the evening till about 1 o'clock after midnight, but not heavy.
21	- -	-	In the morning the sky cloudy, and a few drops of rain fell; afterwards a black thunder-storm gathering, but no rain.

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852. July 22	- -	-	The sky tolerably clear; in the evening a thunder-storm gathered from the north, but passed by without bringing us any rain except a few drops.
23	- -	-	Near morning rain, lasting for about an hour, when the clouds cleared away, but gathered again in the course of the afternoon, without, however, bringing us any rain.
24	- -	-	In the morning light clouds hovering over us, while the distant horizon was clear; in the evening a black thunder-storm gathered from east, but bringing us only a few drops of rain from 8.15 to 8.30 o'clock.
25	- -	-	The sky in the morning overcast, cleared up about noon. Wide halo round moon in evening.
26	- -	-	About 4 o'clock in the morning a light shower, and the sky remained thickly overcast till about 8 o'clock, when the clouds dispersed, and we had a fine day.
1852. July 27	- -	-	The sky in the morning clear, in the afternoon rain-clouds from S.S.E., bringing heavy rain in the evening, lasting from 5.30 till 10 o'clock with considerable violence for the first three-quarters of an hour, then less violent.
28	- -	-	No rain.
29	- -	-	Sky a little overcast. In the night rain, lasting about one hour, and accompanied by a very violent gale.
30	- -	-	No rain.
31	- -	-	4 p.m. a thunder-storm gathered from the south, but passed by towards the west, without bringing rain.
Aug. 1	- -	-	Weather clear.
2	- -	-	The morning not clear; afterwards the sun broke forth. A little before sunset a thunder-storm gathered from S.S.E. and after 6.30 it began raining, the rain continuing the whole night, but only gently.

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852. Aug.				1852 Aug.			
3	- -	-	At 5.30 a.m. it began again raining, at times more gently, at others with greater violence, but altogether only little. About 10 a.m. the sun broke forth.				morning, and at 11.20 a light rain, followed by warm sunshine.
				10	- -	-	The rain which had lasted great part of the night ceased a little before 7 o'clock in the morning.
4	- -	-	No rain.	11	- -	-	About noon rain-clouds passed over our heads bringing us but a few drops.
5	- -	-	About 6 p.m. a thunder - storm gathered from N.E., and another from the west; both, however, passed by without bringing rain.	12	- -	-	In the preceding night light rain not accompanied by thunder; at 10 a.m. more rain, and at 2 p.m. more heavy; at 4.22 another fall. The sky remained overcast, with heavy clouds the whole day long.
6	- -	-	In the afternoon a thunder - storm gathered, bringing moderate rain, which lasted from 5.30 to 10 p.m.				
7	- -	-	No rain.				
8	- -	-	About noon a heavy thunder-storm gathered from east, and broke forth at 12.30 with great violence, but lasting only ten minutes; the rain commenced again at 2.22, and lasted till 2.40, accompanied by a heavy gale; in the evening from 7.45 till 8.20 another heavy shower.	13	- -	-	A heavy shower in the morning, lasting about two hours, followed by another fall of less duration; the sky remained overcast almost the whole of the day, and in the afternoon a little more rain.
				14	- -	-	About noon a heavy shower, lasting half an hour; more rain in the afternoon.
9	- -	-	Weather dark and rainy; a few drops of rain in the	15	- -	-	The sky the whole day thickly over-

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852. Aug.			cast, rain falling several times.
16	- -	-	About 6 a.m. a heavy shower lasting about half an hour.
17	- -	-	A fine genial day; about noon sky became overcast, and at 12.30 a few drops fell, later in the afternoon more rain.
18	- -	-	Sky at times overcast; a little rain.
19	- -	-	Rainy day; it began raining at 11 a.m. and continued till 3 p.m.
20	- -	-	About 11 o'clock a little rain, round about us much more.
21	- -	-	At 2 p.m. a little rain.
22	- -	-	No rain (Kúkawa).
23	- -	-	At 3 p.m. a considerable fall of rain.
24	- -	-	At 4 p.m. a light rain.
25	- -	-	About noon a thunder-storm gathered, but without rain.
26	- -	-	Sky about noon overcast, but no rain.
27 28 29 30 31	- -	-	No rain.
Sept. 1	- -	-	Weather clear.
2	- -	-	About noon a thunder - storm

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852. Sept.			gathering; in the afternoon light rain.
3	sunrise	74·3	Sky in the afternoon overcast, but no rain.
4	sunrise	78·5	A few drops in the morning.
5	- -	78	No rain.
6	- -	76·6	At 10.30 a thunder - storm gathered, accompanied by moderate rain.
7	- -	74	A warm genial day.
8 to 10	- -	-	No rain.
11	2 p.m.	98	At 4 p.m. a thunder-storm without rain.
12	2 p.m.	98	Fine.
13	- -	-	In the afternoon a cold heavy gale.
14	1 p.m.	94·5	
15	sunrise	80	
16	- -	-	Clear.
17	1.30 p.m.	97	
18	sunrise	80	Sky overcast.
19	sunrise	79	
	2 p.m.	97	
20	sunrise	78	Sky overcast; sun came forth about noon, but again overcast; towards the east a thunder-storm; with us but a few drops of rain.
21	sunrise	79	
	1.30 p.m.	97	About 5 o'clock in the afternoon a thunder-storm; in the evening a few drops.
22 26	- -	-	No rain.

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Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852.			
Sept.			
27	- -	-	A light rain early in the morning.
28	- -	-	No rain.
29	1.30 p.m.	97	
30	sunrise	80	
	2 p.m.	100·3	
Oct.			
1, 2	- -	-	No rain.
3	sunrise	77	
	1.30	98	After sunset a heavy thunder-storm; only a few drops of rain.
4	sunrise	78·5	
5	sunrise	78	
	1.30 p.m.	100	
6 to 10	No observation.		
11	- -	-	In the preceding night a thunder-storm, with moderate rain.
12 and 13	- -	-	Weather clear.
14	- -	-	At 10 a.m. a heavy gale, with a few drops of rain, the rain clouds passing by towards S.E.
15	sunrise	72	
	1.30 p.m.	96	
16	-	-	Sky overcast; cleared up about noon.
17	sunrise	75	
18	sunrise	72	

Date.	Hour of Day.	Degrees in scale of Fahrenheit.	Remarks.
1852.			
Oct.			
18	1.30 p.m.	98	
19	sunrise	72	
20	- -	-	In the evening a heavy gale, as if preceding a thunder-storm.
21	- -	-	In the afternoon a thunder-storm, with a light rain at 3 o'clock, lasting about a quarter of an hour, and followed by a second fall.
22	- -	-	In the afternoon a thunder - storm, but without rain, near us.
23 to 31	sunrise	70–72	A strong wind all these days.
	1.30 p.m.	95–98	
Nov.			
1 to 10	No observation.		
11	sunrise	68	
12	sunrise	67·5	
13	sunrise	66	
14	sunrise	65·4	
15	sunrise	65	
	1.30	89	
16	sunrise	64·5	
	1.30	89	
17	sunrise	63	
18 to 20	No observation.		
21	1.30 p.m.	85	
22	1.30 p.m.	84·5	

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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